

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF HIMALAYAN STATES

VOLUME SIX

JAMMU KINGDOM

PART III

History And Culture Of Himalayan States

VOLUME VI

JAMMU KINGDOM PART 3 : CONSTITUENT STATES

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Foreword

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1988

Published by :

Asha Rani Charak for Ajaya Prakashan,
Kathlaur Colony, College Road,
Pathankot.

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1988

Price ₹ 1995.00

Printed by :

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Printed by :

Pee Kay Printers,
Adda Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar.

FOREWORD

Jammu has been a seat of political importance for a long time. The earliest references to this region found in writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that it was at that time quite a flourishing centre of political power, economic prosperity and cultural evolution. The genealogy of the ruling house of Jammu region and the tradition current in these hills tell us that Jammu had become a significant political force even during the period of early Muslim invasions, when the rulers and people of Dogra land fought against the Ghaznavi intruders. Ferishta, a historian of the fifteenth century, mentions some events of the history of north-western India during the first or second century of the Christian era, in which Jammu was involved. A Persian history of Kashmir testifies to the foundation of political power at Jammu at least around 900 A.D. It is also about this time that inscriptional mention of the King of the Dogras (Durgarshvara) is recorded in connection with an invasion of Chamba by a combination of powers including the Dogras.

All these historical records establish beyond dispute the emergence of Jammu as a pre-eminent power in the hills much before the commencement of the Turkish invasions of north-western India. This region therefore, bore the brunt of foreign invasions for several centuries and remained hot-bed of contest for political power. Thus Jammu played an important role in the annals of this part of India, a fact which had been long forgotten and remained dormant for a long time. It is perhaps for the first time that a full-length study of these annals had been made in this comprehensive work by Prof. S.S. Charak, comprising five volumes based on reliable records and historical tradition.

The pre-historic and the proto-historic ages of this region have also been brought to light by excavations and archaeological exploration. These reveal that the Jammu region was the habitat of primitive man who has left behind an evidence of his existence in the form of stone-age tools and other vestiges. This region was culturally contemporaneous with the Harappan era, and a large bulk of shreds of Harappan pottery has been unearthed at various spots. The height of cultural attainment of this land of the Dogras can be measured by the fact that finely artistic terra-cotta human heads, rivalling in naturalness and expression even the

Gandhara figurines, have been unearthed at Akhnur and Ambaran. The stone temples of Sudha-Mahadeva, belonging to the 4th Century A.D. and those of Krimchi and Babbor belonging to 10th Century, are ample proof of the high attainments of the early Dogras in the sphere of architecture.

The people of Jammu seem from early times to have made multidimensional progress with a capacity to assimilate, develop and transmit. This trait of their racial character has enabled them to survive countless onslaughts of foreign tribes which unsuccessfully sought to uproot and annihilate them. The flow of history and culture has intermittently pervaded this region, perpetuating the spirit of encounter and adventure so characteristic of a virile and buoyant people. This spirit informs all the activities of the people of the Jammu region even during the recent centuries, which posed a great challenge to the Dogras who refused to be submerged by the overwhelming deluge of Mughal and Afghan imperialism. The numerous Dogra principalities, headed by Jammu, and aided now and then by Kangra, presented a united front against the imperialists, fought stubbornly and persistently and maintained their existence against all odds. Rajas Dhruv Dev and Ranjit Dev personified this historical tradition of the Dogras. They succeeded not only in restoring the Dogra Raj to its former glory, but also in expanding and strengthening it by further conquests and consolidation. Though the sovereignty of Jammu was eclipsed for a short time after Ranjit Dev's death in 1782, yet the challenge was taken up by the young Gulab Singh, who succeeded in founding Jammu and Kashmir State on the ruins of the Jammu Raj, thus bringing to fruition the political endeavours of the people and rulers of this part of the country.

It is gratifying to learn that the Dogras were not merely valiant fighters, but were dexterous politicians and statesmen. In recent centuries Ranjit Dev and Gulab Singh participated successfully in the politics of the Punjab and the Hills. As a statesman and politician Maharaja Gulab Singh matched any of his contemporaries in British India or Europe. His dealings with the rulers of Lahore and with the British rulers of India form an instructive chapter of intelligent and wise diplomacy. His brother, Raja Dhian Singh, was one of the builders of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab. Pandit Jalla and Raja Hira Singh were two other Dogras belonging to the political school of Gulab Singh who played a significant role.

The Dogra ideal of secularism and patronage of arts and letters culminated in the evolution of Dogra schools of painting represented by the Jammu, Basohli, Ramnagar and Kangra *Kalams*,

perhaps the most fascinating and romantic achievement of the Indian tradition of miniature painting. The Ramayana and Nala-Damyanti series of Jammu schools, the Nayak-Nayika, Ragmala and Rasamanjari series of the Basohli school, and the Bhagvata Purana and Krishna-Lila paintings of Nurpur and Kangra schools, are the exquisite expressions of the artistic genius of the Dogra artists, and a standing tribute to the Dogra patrons in the world of art.

I congratulate the Publishers for having the imagination to bring out a series of volumes on the history and culture of the Himalayan States. Professor Sukhdev Singh Charak has already undertaken three volumes on Himachal Pradesh, apart from a number of research publications on various aspects of Dogra history including a definitive edition of the *Gulabnama*. He is, therefore, eminently suited to undertake this five-volume study on the history and culture of Jammu. It is my sincere hope that these volumes will be widely circulated at home and abroad, so that the history of Jammu and the Dogra people is better appreciated than it has been so far. India is a colourful mosaic of many races and cultural traditions and languages, harmonising into a vast and varied tapestry. The proud and chivalrous Dogras have made a significant contribution to Indian history and culture, and these volumes will fill a long need for a study in depth of their historic contributions.

Karan Singh

P R E F A C E

This is the Sixth Volume on the History and Culture of Himalyan States. It deals with the smaller states of the western Siwaliks and Middle Ranges of the north-western Himalayas, known as states of the Jammu or Dugar group. Their traditional number was twenty-two, Jammu being the premier most among them incorporating into one kingdom, occasionally almost all of them and usually a large majority of them. The Kangra region and Hills to the further east were similarly parcelled out into big and small principalities most of which started as separate independent states, but existed as part of bigger kingdoms most of their career. Jammu was one of such kingdoms which subordinated almost all the principalities of the Dugar Circle and kept the remaining of them, and even a few other neighbouring states like Chamba and Nurpur, within fold of its influence.

There are a few interesting facts about the nature and texture of these Hill principalities. Among the Jammu group of states, for instance, we have three stem states, Jammu, Lohara or Punch, and Vallapura or Balaor. All the three came into being as result of military conquest of a myriad of Rana-Thakur baronies by their founders, probably during the early Chrisitan eras. Afterwards some more principalities were formed out of these stem states, not by revolt or military action but by willing bifurcation as a division of patrimony. From Parnotsa (Punch) was born Rajapuri-Rajaori and from the latter, Bhimbar and Khari-Kharsali and Kotli in subsequent ages. Similarly, ancient Vallapura, later called Balaor and Basohli, also gave off at least two states, Bhadu and Bhadarwah. Jammu gave off maximum number of satellites, usually counted at ten. Such division was not a signal of disintegration of the stem state ; rather such a vast ramification became an agent for the strength and inflation of the stem states as the growing branch states ever retained their blood relationship with the parent state and the sister principalities and behaved like members of the one large family. Another fact about the kingdom of Jammu was its corporate or federal nature. Its branches or new principalities which were conquered and made its part, were never subverted, but allowed to exist as separate, autonomous units, ruled unbroken by their own ancient ruling dynasties owing limited allegiance to the suzerain. These interesting and instructive political facts make the study of

history of these constituent principalities of Jammu kingdom a useful endeavour, and the same has been done in this volume.

With the completion of this volume, work on the political history of Jammu Raj partly covered in Volumes IV and V, has been finalised. The next two Volumes VII and VIII, will be devoted to the unfolding of cultural history of the people of this region.

In the preparation of this volume I have derived much material from the pioneering works like the *History of Punjab Hill States* by Hutchison and Voghel, and chronicles of Thakur Kahan Singh Balaoria. I ever remain indebted to these authors. The Takari and Persian documents in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba and state Archives in Jammu and Patiala were also found very useful source of information for history of inter-state political transactions. I am thankful to custodians of these collections for the help rendered by them to me in studying those records. I am also thankful to my daughters Dr. Anita Billawaria, M A., M. Phil, Ph. D., and Shailja for their help in reading proofs, and preparation of Bibliography and Index of this volume. Lastly, I thank M/S Ajaya Prakashan, Pathankot, my new publishers, for undertaking to publish this and subsequent volumes of this series and for maintaining the high standard of printing and get-up.

January 1, 1988.

University of Jammu,
JAMMU.

Sukhdev Singh Charak

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- No. 28. Devi riding a chariot, Basohli, 1720 A.D.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archer, W.G.	Archer W.G., <i>Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills</i> , Delhi, 1973.
A.S.I.	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.</i>
B.I.S.L. (I)	Bengal and India Secret Letters in India Office Library.
Cat. B.S.M.	Vogel, J.Ph., <i>Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.</i>
Charak, S.D.S.	<i>Kirpa Ram's Gulbnama</i> annotated Eng. trans., New Delhi, 1977.
Elliot	Elliot, H.M., and Dowson, <i>History of India As told by her own Historians</i> , 8 Vols. Kitab Mahal, Delhi reprint,
Ganesh Dass	<i>Rajdarshani</i> , Persian MS. British Museum, London. Photo Copy in R.D.L. (S).
Gulab., Kirpa Ram	Kirpa Ram, <i>Gulabnama</i> (Persian), Srinagar, 1876.
Hasrat, PP H.P.H.S.	Bikramjit Hasrat, <i>Punjab Papers</i> , Hoshiarpur. Vogel, J.Ph. and J. Hutchison, <i>History of Punjab Hill s States</i> , Lahore, 1933.
J.R.A.S.	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i> ,
K.C.A	Sikh History Society, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
NAI (ND)	National Archives of India, New Delhi.
O.R.P.S.	<i>Old Records in Punjab Secretariat, Lahore, Press Lists.</i>
P.G.R.	Punjab Government Records, National Archives, New Delhi.
Rajat	Stein M., <i>Kalhana's Rajatarangini</i> , Eng. trans., 2 Vols.
R.D.L. (S)	Research Department Library, Srinagar.
S.A.R. (J)	State Archival Repository, Jammu.
S.A.P.	Punjab State Archives, Patiala.
Sec-Consult./Secret	Consultation/Foreign Secrets, N.A.I.
Shahamat Ali	Shahamat Ali, <i>The Sikhs and Afghans</i> , reprint, Patiala. 1970.
Smyth. G.C.	<i>A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore.</i> reprint, Patiala, 1970.

Section I

JAMMU HILL STATES And Their Polity

- I. INTRODUCTION**
- II. POLITY AND CHARACTER/NATURE OF HILL STATES.**
- III. HISTORICAL RESUME**
- IV. APTHAKURI, THE AGE OF THAKUR AND RANA SUPREMACY, ITS EXTENT AND DURATION.**

Jammu Hill States and their Polity

I

INTRODUCTION

As late as the early part of the nineteenth century the mountain area watered by the five rivers of the Punjab, retained a political condition which in its main features, recalls the days of the epic period. From the Indus to the sources of the Ganges, the outer ranges of the north-western Himalayas were divided up among numerous States each under its own chief. Some of these principalities were founded as late as fourteenth or fifteenth century ; while others dated from the early centuries of the Christian era, and two at least—Kashmir and Trigarta (Kangra)—were still older.¹

According to Sir A. Cunningham the oldest classification of these States divided them into three groups, each named after the most powerful State which was the head of the confederation. These were Kashmir, Dugar and Trigarta. The first group consisted of Kashmir and the petty States between the Indus and the Jehlam ; the second included Durgar (Jammu—Bahu) and the petty States between the Jehlam and the Ravi ; and the third

1 HPHS, p. 41.

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comprised Jalandhara or Trigarta (Kangra) and the various small States between the Ravi and the Satluj. There are indications, he says, that this division into three groups was in existence from a period anterior to the seventh century.²

Jammu Kingdom was, in fact, a sort of federation of a number of big and small principalities which were traditionally twenty-two in number, known to the scholars as belonging to the Dugar group, distinct from those of the Kashmir and Trigarta (Kangra) groups, and lying in the Hills between the Ravi and the Jehlam.

According to Sir A Cunningham, the following States belonged to the Dugar or Central Group³ :—

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Hindus : | 1. Jammu, to east of Chenab R. |
| | 2. Bhao. |
| Muhammadans : | 3. Rihasi, on Chenab R. |
| | 4. Akhnur |
| | 5. Punach, on Punach R. |
| | 6. Rajori, on Tohi R. |
| | 7. Kotli, on Punach R. |
| | 8. Bhimbar, at foot of hills. |
| | 9. Khariali, near Bhimbar, |
| | 10. Kashtwar, on upper Chenab R. |
| | 11. Bhadrwar, to south of Kastwar. |
| Hindu : | 12. Chaneni to west of Bhadrwar. |
| | 13. Bandralta, to South of Chaneni. |
| | 14. Samba, to S.W. of Bandralta. |
| | 15. Jasrota, to South of Bandralta. |
| | 16. Tirikot, near Jasrota. |
| | 17. Mankot, to South of Bandralta. |
| | 18. Badwal, or Vaddiwasa. |
| | 19. Ballawar or Bisohli. |

To this list may be added at least three names, viz., Bhoti, Lakhanpur and Bhau which belonged to this group of States. The State at No. 2 above, spelt Bhao, may be corrected as Bahu. The three States of Riasi, Akhnur and Bhadrwa included by Sir A. Cunningham in the group of Muhammadan States, were never in the course of their known history, ruled by any Muhammadan or Muhammadanised dynasty. Their founders were Hindu chiefs whose descendants continued to rule them either as subordinate Rajas or *jagirdars* until the date of their extinction.

2. Cunningham, Alexander, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 110.

3. *Ibid*, p. 182.

Moreover, at no point of time all the twenty-two traditional states simultaneously existed. For example, when Jasrota, Lakhanpur and Bhadu came into being, Dalpatpur, Tirikot and Samba had become extinct as states and had been reduced to *jagirs* or only headquarters of administrative divisions. Moreover, Kotli, too, had a very short existence as a State and right from the middle centuries it served as a *jagir* for an important member of the Punch royal house. Then there is a stray name of Sumarta in addition to the twenty-two named above, which has been mentioned in the records of eleventh century as an independent state, and it continued its political entity in some form until conquered by Gulab Singh in 1824. Thus the facts about these states conveyed by Sir A. Cunningham are partially incorrect and seem not to have been verified by the author himself. The traditional number of twenty-two states is only conventional, and not an historical fact. It had different bearing, too. For some writers these included all the states on both sides of the Chenab; while others counted among these eleven states of the Kangra group and eleven of the Dugar group. The term was thus vague and would imply "all the states". The figure twenty-two had some political implication in the Jammu-Kangra Hills. How this figure assumed importance in Hill States, is a question which would never be answered satisfactorily like some other problems of the history of these states, such as the introduction of the title '*Mian*' among the Rajputs of these Hills. Even the Rajputs of Samba State claimed to have twenty-two *Mandis* or courts, though they cannot name more than a dozen and practically show more than seven or eight around the Samba town. One source, however, states that after the conquest of Kangra in 1620, Jahangir had at his court hostages from twenty-two Hill States on both sides of the Ravi, to whom the Emperor gave the honorific of '*Mian*', a title of Muslim origin.

For the convenience of treatment in this volume the Dugar States may be grouped around the parent or stem states from which these bifurcated from time to time. Durgar (Jammu-Bahu), Vallapura (Balaur-Basoali) and Parotsa (Pruntz-Punch) were the three original or stem states from which more than a dozen offshoots were born during the course of time. These offshoots remained primarily subject to the parent state. Then there were some individual states like Kashtwar and Bandralta which did not belong to any of these groups, neither they gave off any stallite state. From such consideration we have the following groups :

Section A 1. Parent State : Jammu.

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- Offshoots : 1. Bahu, 2. Mankot,
 3. Bhoti, 4. Jasrota,
 5. Bhau, 6. Lakhanpur,
 7. Samba, 8. Athnur,
 9. Tirikot, 10. Dalpatpur.
- Section B 2. Parent State : Balaur (Vallapura)—Basohli
 Offshoots : 1. Bhadu, 2. Bhadrawa.
- Section C 3. Parent State : Punch (Prunts).
 Offshoots : 1. Rajapuri (Rajauri),
 2. Bhimbar,
 3. Khari-Khariali,
 4. Kotli.
- Section D 4. Individual States : 1. Kashtwar,
 2. Bandralta,
 3. Chanehni,
 4. Riasi.

Of the last group, Bandralta, Chanehni and Riasi have more or less been subject to Jammu from the date of their foundation, hence these may also be considered to belong to the Jammu group under which their historical account will be given, leaving only Kashtwar in the 4th group, and until its subversion by Gulab Singh in 1820, it uniformly maintained its status as a strong individual state since its foundation.

Clan Name or 'Al'

The ruling families in Jammu Hills, like the others all over the Siwaliks, had a distinctive appellation or 'Al', i.e., clan name, derived from the country over which it formerly held domination, or from their capital town. In latter case, the ruling clan derived its name from the capital at the time of founding the state, and it usually remained the same when the capital was changed. Balauria from Balor (ancient Vallapura), the original capital of Basohli State, Hiuntal or Hantal is from Hiunta⁴, or Himta, the original name of Chanehni State. The ruling clan of Jammu continued to take its 'Al' 'Jamwal' throughout unchanged. However, in addition to the general clan name, each clan comprises several subdivisions consequent to the division of the original state into many dependent principalities. For example, the Jamwal clan has several subdivisions, viz., Jasrotia, Mankotia, Sambial Lakhanpuria, Jandiwalla, Panjgraian, and others, each of which

4. 'Him', pronounced as 'Hiun' in the hills, meaning 'snow'. 'Himta' or 'Hiunta' is equal to 'snow-country', from which the ruling family of Chanehni State derived their 'Al'.

had its separate '*als*'. The Jamwal clan alone has twenty-four '*als*' whereas Balaurias have twelve. All the members of the twenty-two ruling clans are now distinguished from other Rajputs by the honorific title of *Mian*, said to have been conferred on their ancestors by the emperor Jahangir, and even earlier by Sultan Muhammad Ghari. The title is of course Muhammadan, and is of Persian origin and the *mulla* of a mosque was also addressed as *Mian*. Ganesh Dass opines that it has been derived from the Persian word '*Mianji*', meaning 'a go-between' or an agent, and the hostages and envoys of the Hill Rajas were addressed by this term which the members of ruling clans later adopted for them to distinguish themselves from the mass of non-ruling Rajput clans.⁵

In most of these states the name of the capital was different from that of the principality in case of earlier states. The states of later origin were generally named after the capital, and when that was changed the name of the state was changed with it. The states of Balaur (Vallapura), Bhadrawah (Bhadrawaksha), Kashtwar (Kashtavata), Bhadu, Jasrota, Samba, Rajauri, Bhimbar and many others, received their names after their capitals. Bandralta, Hiunta or Hunta and perhaps Sumata are examples of smaller states in which the name of the capital was different from that of the country. The ruling family of Jammu and its offshoots claimed descent from *Suryavansi* or Solar line, and some dynasties like those of Balaur, Bhadu, Hantal, Kashtwar belong to the Chandravansi or Lunar line. Each family had originally adopted an invariable suffix to their names. The Kashtwar family had '*Sena*', whereas other Lunar/Chandravansi families used '*Pala*'. The Jammu ruling clan and its offshoots had '*Dev*' (Deva or Deo), which was usually pronounced as '*De*'. In later times most of the ruling families adopted the suffix '*Singh*' or '*Sinh*' (lion), which in some cases took the form of '*Sih*' or '*Si*'. The title '*deva*' was also a royal designation and was attached to the names of kings and queens in the masculine and feminine form.

In Jammu Hill States, as in most of other states, an heir apparent bore the ancient title of *Yuvaraja*. In recent times the *Yuvaraja* or the eldest son of a ruling Chief bore the title of *Tikka*, and the younger sons were called Dothain, Trithain, Chauthain, etc. The title of *Rajkumar* was also used. The title '*Mian*' is also significantly used among the Rajputs as pointed out above. A *Mian* had to follow a certain social code in former times. "He must not drive the plough ; he must not give his daughter in mar-

5. Badehra, Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani* (Persian), SPM., fol.

riage to an inferior in social rank ; nor himself marry much below his rank ; he must never accept money in return for the betrothal of his daughter ; his female household must observe strict seclusion. At the present time these restrictions have become much relaxed. In Jammu the title *Mian* has been usually replaced by *Thakur*. The mode of receiving and returning of salutation was also of special significance among the ruling clans. The usual Rajput salutation *Jaideva* or *Jaidea* was only accorded to the Rajputs in Jammu Hills as being members of the ruling family. *Jaidea* itself is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit phrase "*Jayatu Devah*" which means "Victory to the gods" ; and since royal personages were addressed '*Jeva*' and also used this title as suffix, the phrase has been interpreted to mean "May the King be victorious". Among Rajput clans the receiving and returning of this salutation followed a certain convention. A distinction was made by Rajputs of Jammu Hills between those who did follow and those who did not follow the plough. Among the latter group the salutation of *Jaidea* was freely exchanged, and was considered in the first rank in Rajput society. Those who followed the plough, called *Halbahas*, were considered inferior, and were required to offer first salutation to the higher rank and they were returned the salutation of *Ram-Ram*. They were thus called *Ram-Ramiay* as regards salutation. To the Rajput war was the only occupation and the only weapon was the sword ; the plough was the insignia of an inferior calling, and the contemptuous term *hal-bah* (plough-driver) was applied to any Rajput who engaged in it. The custom existed till recently and also prevailed among Brahmas, but is now much relaxed⁶, and the salutation *Jaidea* is now freely exchanged on equal footing among all the classes of Rajputs. By a ruling chief, the head of a royal clan, the salutation is received but not returned. In former times great importance was attached to this salutation and unauthorised assumption of the privilege was punished as a mis-demeanour by heavy fine and punishment. The Raja, however, could extend the honour to high born Rajputs not strictly belonging to a royal clan. Raja Kapur Dev is said to have extended this privilege to his son Omul from a *Jatti* concubine⁷. Any deviation from the rules of the caste was sufficient to deprive the offender of the salutation, and the loss was tantamount to excommunication. But considerable modification in the popular use of the salutation has taken place in recent times and is exchanged without consideration of grade or rank.

6 *Kangra Settlement Report*, 1889, pp. 37-38.

7. Anon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (Urdu), pp. 42-43.

II

POLITY AND NATURE OF HILL STATES

It is interesting to analyse the political constitution of Jammu Hill States and the character of their polity, but information on this subject is very scanty and uncertain. One factor is, however, certain that it was different from group to group in earlier stages, as the founders of the parent states came from different parts of India with varying political traditions which they introduced in the states they created. They could not, nevertheless, ignore the traditions of the people they had to rule, and had to adopt many local political practices and to recognise some to which the subject people were already habituated. This fact, as well as the inter-states relations over a long period helped finally in developing an almost similar pattern of polity and administration. The direct jurisdiction of all the states was small. If ever any state like Jammu or Rajapuri extended its jurisdiction and became paramount over a number of states it did not subvert the subdued states but only subjected them, extracted allegiance and annual tribute and left every thing else to the subordinate Raja who continued to rule his state as usual, shorn only of its sovereignty. Thus the states were small and there could not have been a large administrative cadre. As regards army, it was, a case of whole of the ruling clan/tribe in arms like that of the ancient tribal republics, whose tradition the Hill people seem to have inherited.

At the same time, the Hill rulers were conversant with the traditions of the polity and administrative set-up of the great empires and political thinkers of the old which were still alive in other parts of India and in Kashmir where empires were still rising and falling. Thus it is thinkable that the tiny courts of the Hill Rajas were very much replicas of the imperial courts of Indian Kings, and some offices of the old polity might have been retained by the Rajas of Hill States. Except in the case of Chamba and Kashmir, there is unluckily no inscriptional or manuscript record of other Hill States from which we could learn something positively about administrative organisation and officials involved in it.

A few stray and very conjectural references preserve the names of some officials. Ganesh Dass⁸ states that Raja Suraj Dev, who ruled during the last quarter of the 9th century, appointed seven officials—*Mehtas*—to run various departments of administration of

8. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fols. 108 a, 108 b, 109 a.

his State with the titles Raj Mehta, Mehta Raj Mehtari, Mehta Dalpati, Mehta Kutchehri or Mehta Thara, Mehta Dharam Rai, Mehta Rangras, and Mehta Kurund Singh. Mehta Thara or Thare-da-Mehta was an office which remained popular in some hill States till recently. The title of Mehta remained in vogue in Jammu long after Suraj Dev. As late as fifteenth century we find mention of this title in the legend of Bawa Jitto, who was persecuted by one Mehta Bir Singh, an official of Raja Ajeo Dev of Jammu, whose Rakwal maternal uncles, Mehta Mardana and Mehta Jaipal, also bore this title. Till nineteenth century this title continued in use in several Hill States. In Jammu we find mention of such offices as *Mantri*, *Kotwal* and *Purohit*, *Dalpati* or *Sipah-Salar* during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Dev (1733—1782). Dev Dutt Kavi seems to have held the post of *Purohit* of Jammu royal family as a State official in which capacity he accompanied the heir-apparent, Brijraj Dev, on his Kangra expedition. The office of vice-Raja—*Yuvaraj*—was popular in all the Hill States since ancient ages. The office of *Diwan*, *Wazir* and *Deorhiwala* (Superintendent of the royal Household) had also got vogue in Ranjit Dev's administration. *Rana*, *Rajput*, *Khasa*, *Thakkur*, *Chaudhari*, *Lambardar*, *Patwari*, *Thana-dar* or *Than-pati* were some other officials belonging to the administrative hegemony of Jammu Raj. Of these titles only a few have survived all the changes in the forms of polity and had been till recently in use as an official designation,

Rajas :

From a close study of the remnants of constitutional terms it becomes certain that the basic polity in the Hill States from the early centuries was essentially feudal in which the Raja had the pivotal position. "The authority of the Rajas was of a three-fold nature, —religious, feudal and personal. He was the head of the State religion, venerated as divine, either in his own right or as vice-regent of the national god. He was the supreme and sole owner of the soil, the fountain from which issued the right of the cultivator to a share of the produce, and he was the ruler and the master of his subjects who owed him personal allegiance and service. The nature of the Raja's authority was largely derived from their predecessors—the Ranas and Thakurs—who, within their limited sphere, were invested with the same attributes of primitive Kingship. Indeed there is some reason to believe that the theoretic basis on which their rule was constituted was given fuller recognition in practice than had been the case in regard to the later

Rajput conquerors of the Hills..."⁹

The divinity of Kingship appears to have been recognised from very early times in Jammu Hills and is one source of the intimate connection between the State and Religion, which has always obtained. Occasionally the Raja is identified with and worshipped as the national deity. The Jammu tradition affirms that the worship of the Raja commenced with Raja Suraj Dhar. Some people who were much devoted to the Raja would have a look at the Raja as first thing in the morning. These 'King worshippers' even did not take their meals for a day or two if '*darshana*' of the Raja could not be had due to certain reasons.¹⁰ After-wards, the masses became devotees of the Rajas and a class of people worshipped him as incarnation of the deity and this custom got vogue throughout Jammu Hills and was in fashion till at least the eighteenth century. The people took the god the rightful ruler and the chief his vice-regent. They believed that the god consigns the care of the kingdom to his chosen representative, the Raja. Thus in a milder form the theocracy is clearly apparent, and is usually recognised in some outward form in Jammu and other Hill States.

In recognition to his divinity the Raja's jurisdiction over caste was universally accepted in the Hills. He enjoyed the power of excommunication from caste and could similarly direct the restoration of an excommunicated person to the brotherhood, or raise some one in status. There is on record that Raja Kapur Dev had one son, named Omul, from a Jatti concubine, held much inferior in brotherhood, not entitled to give and receive *Jaidea*. Omul, however, was the only one out of his twenty two sons, to carry out the Raja's call to fight Sher Khan, an oppressor Pathan governor of Kalanaur, and vanquished him in a battle. As reward for this brave deed Kapur Dev gave him the privilege of receiving *Jaidea* and right of equality in the brotherhood and Omul's offspring acquired the cognomen of Omulia Rajputs.¹¹ In the case of excommunicated persons the Raja would, after consultation with Brahmans versed in *Shastras* prescribe penances conditional on readmission and some of the rites were performed in his presence. When the members of the caste were agreed among themselves he did not ordinarily interfere, but even then an outcaste could bring his case before the Raja. "As a further example of the divinity of Kingship, a form of oath common throughout the Hills, may be

9. Emerson, H.H., *Mandi Gazatteer*, p. 61.

10. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., folio 104 b.

11. Annon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu (Urdu)*, pp. 42-43.

mentioned. This is the *Raja-ki-daroht*, disobedience to which is regarded as treason. The Rajas frequently had resort to it as a means of constraining the actions of their subjects," and it was employed in some cases to the day of the extinction of native States about 1947. When pronounced publically it provided "a simple means of ensuring obedience to execute orders, and certain officials were invested with authority to use it."¹²

Jammu Hill States had a peculiar form of feudal system in common with other Hill States. The offshoots were usually subordinate to the Stem State but were internally independent. Jammu as a paramount power in the region between the Ravi and the Jehlum usually controlled over a dozen states and occasionally on all the states of the region. But this overlordship was limited to formal allegiance of the subordinate Rajas to Jammu, and practically each principality formed a separate and independent piece of property of which the Raja was the sole proprietor and the fountain of all the rights regarding land and other powers. All other people living on the soil of his state were his subjects and servants and held their lands under obligation of military service and other feudal duties according to the prevailing conventions. In such a polity the theory of land was, that each Raja was the landlord of the whole of his Raj or principality "in a clearer and stronger degree." The Mughal Emperors in communications with the Hill Rajas and other writings, called them *Zamindars*, i.e., the landlords. The *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri* refers to Raja Sangram Dev (1594-1626) of Jammu as "Sangram, one of the *Zamindars* of the hill country of the Punjab."¹³ Documents are also preserved in some of the Raja families in which this address or title is used. The Raja was not paramount over inferior lords of manors, but was manorial lord of the whole country. Each principality or Raj was a single estate, divided for administrative purpose into a number of circuits called *chaklas*, *tharas* or *thanas*. Like the *mauzas* of the plains, these circuits were mere groupings of holdings under one collector of rents. The waste lands, great and small, were Raja's waste, the arable lands were made up of the separate holdings of the tenants. The rent due from the owners of the fields was payable direct to the Raja, unless he remitted it as an act of favour to the holder or assigned it in *jagir* to any official in lieu of pay or as a subsistence allowance. The grazing fees due from the owner of each herd or flock were similarly payable direct to the

12. Emerson, H.H., *Mandi Gazetteer*, pp. 61 ff.

13. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri* (Persian text), Lucknow ed., p. 308.

Raja. The collectors of rents and feudal dues, from the *Wazir* down to the village *lambardar* or *patel*, were the Raja's servants, appointed and paid directly by himself. "Every such interest in land, whether the right to cultivate certain fields, to graze exclusively certain plots of waste, work a watermill, set a net to catch game or hawks on a mountain, or to put a fish weir in a stream, was held direct of the Raja as a separate holding of tenancy. The incumbent or tenant at most called his interest as a *warisi* or inheritance, not as a *maliki* or lordship. The artisans and other non-agriculturist residents in villages held their *lehri basi*, or 'garden plots', of the Raja, not of their village employers and customers, and paid their cesses and were bound to him; the regular landholders were all liable to be pressed into service of some kind, military or menial. The Rajas kept a tight hold over the wastes, certain portions of forests were kept as *rakh* or shooting preserves, and trees, whether in forests or in the open waste, could not be felled except with the permission of the Raja. No new field could be formed out of the waste without a *patta* or grant from the Raja. No *wazir* or other revenue agent and no *jagirdar*, could give permission to reclaim waste. Such a power was jealously withheld, as it might have led to the growth of intermediate lordships."¹⁴

For the same reason *wazirs* and *kardars* were never chosen from the royal clan and *jagirs* were generally given in scattered pieces. Certain rights in common in the waste around the village were enjoyed by all the rural inhabitants, subject to Raja's right to reclaim. "In short, all the rights were supposed to come from the Raja, several rights such as holdings of land etc., from the grant, the rights of common from his sufferance".¹⁵ In all the Hill States Rajas held such a position, and the subjects were required to fulfil two conditions: firstly, to pay revenue demanded by the state; and, secondly, to render feudal service. The land stood in the name of the head of the family who was responsible for the revenue demand and the state service, proportionate to the amount of land held, those owning one *hahri* (three acres or less) provided one servant for six months in the year, and those owning more provided one servant for the whole year. This revenue and feudal service were appropriated in three different forms: "Firstly, the respectable men of good families who paid revenue in cash only were employed as soldiers or as attendants on the state

14. Lyall, Sir J.B., *Kangra Gazetteer*, p. 191.

15. *Ibid.*

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officials. Secondly, those who paid revenue in cash and kind were employed as soldiers, or in carrying loads for the troops on a campaign. And, thirdly, those who in addition to paying revenue in cash and kind, were required to furnish *begar* or forced labour in the capital.”¹⁶

Next in rank to the Raja were the *samants* or barons, some of whom were Ranas and Thakurs whose ancestors had enjoyed an independent authority before the advent of the Rajas who reduced them to submission and vassalage. Others had received their titular ranks as well as their *jagirs* from the Rajas. In early times most of the highest offices of the state were filled by members of this class. Some of the heads of the various branches of the royal clan and some higher officers, must also have ranked as *Jagirdars*, and all alike held their lands on feudal tenure, under obligation to render military and other service to their liegeland, the Raja. Thus the highest landholders in the state were *Jagirdars*, who represented branches of the royal clan or were lineally descended from the Ranas and Thakurs of the former times, all of whom could be called tenants-in-chief. The largest landholders in Jammu were Manhas, Charaks, Bhaus. Chibs and Langehs and Salehrias, who branched off from the Jammu ruling family in early times and took to the plough, whereas most of the *Jagirdars* were chief families of the ruling clans like Jamwals, Sambyals, Huntals, Balaurias and others, who held their lands on condition of military service and annual cesses. In accordance with ancient custom and title-deeds, they owed the state service as horsemen in attendance on the Raja, providing their own horses, and were bound to accompany him with their retainers on military expeditions or for other services. In recent years the obligation to retain a horse of their own was computed into a money payment, called *ghoriana*, the state being bound to provide a horse when required. The tenants of the Raja and the *Jagirdars* held their lands on the same tenure. In recent years, however, their *chakari* (service) was partially computed into a cash payment, called *chakrunda*, from the word *chakar*, a servant. Outside the *Jagirs* are the crown tenants, also holding direct of the Raja, and rendering certain kind of services besides paying revenue. Most of them sub-rented their lands to a lower order of agriculturists, called *Jhumrials*, who are of three classes : the first class held land on a tenure which was essentially feudal, paying half the produce

in rent, and giving service in cutting wood and grass, as well as in weddings and funerals in their landlord's family. The second class rendered service only, paying no rent, while the third class consisted of farm servants to whom land was merely assigned in lieu of wages in cash.

In this *samantist* polity of Jammu Hill States the Raja was the supreme authority and his will was law, though not absolute, as in the ancient bureaucratic system in which his authority was circumscribed by the *Shastric* injunctions, and the *Rajaguru* or royal *purohit* (preceptor) had been a strong check on the arbitrary exercise of kingly power, being the repository of *Shastric* ritual. In later times, however, the work of actual government was carried on by the Raja, through high officers bearing the title of *Wazir*, who were deputed either to live in their *wazarats* or charges, or to visit them occasionally. They worked through the district and village officials, and they had both executive and judicial powers. The hereditary *Samants* like *Ranas*, *Thakurs* and *Jagirdars* retained considerable influence but they wielded no direct authority even in their own fiefs unless appointed by the Raja to a higher office in the state. The officers under the *Wazir* bore different titles. The collection of revenue was entrusted to a special revenue officer for the whole state, who in Jammu tradition was called *Mehta*, and in Chamba he was called *Thare-da-Mehta*. The military accounts were in charge of an officer bearing the title of *Bakshi* or paymaster, who was also responsible for the internal administration of the forces. The Raja was the fountain head of justice in the state and dispensing even-handed justice was the greatest and the most important function of a Raja, enjoined by the *Shastras*. This not only gained for him the gratitude of the aggrieved parties but also earned for him moral and religious merit. In all cases an appeal lay to him and his decision was final. The only other judicial tribunal was that of the *Wazir*, but a subordinate officer called *Kotwal*, had limited powers to dispose of petty cases in the capital. The district officials dealt with petty cases locally in their *parganas* or sub-divisions, and could impose fine and imprisonment, there being a lock-up in each *pargana* headquarter. In addition to these officers an officer named *Kotwal*, with a *Mehta* or writer, was appointed for each *pargana*, whose duties were fiscal and criminal, as also military. In the time of need he summoned the *Zamindars* for military service, whom he led in person. This office is said to have been very ancient and in Jammu region it gave a Thakur clan its name, *Kotwal*, with whom

this office had become hereditary. In-charge of each *pargana* was called *Chata* or *Char*, having executive, revenue and judicial powers. The title was originally in use all over India. *Jinsali* was another district officer who had the charge of the military stores of the *pargana*. Another officer was the *Likhnehara* or local revenue officer, who assisted the *Char* in collecting the revenue demand and was also responsible for the accounts. Next in rank were the *pargana* peons called Batwal, Jhutyar, Ugrahike, etc., who carried out the orders of the superior officers. Lowest of all were the village headmen called the *Lambardars*. As the Hill States were small their material sources were always limited and their administrative set up was not elaborate but it suited the needs of the people and served them satisfactorily. There were not standing armies, and these consisted of feudal levies at the time of mobilisation and were founded on the basis of clans, commanded by their own clan leaders when called for military campaigns.

III

HISTORICAL RESUME

The Hill States of Jammu region maintained their political status for a long times, reaching almost upto about 1800 A.D. and some of them survived even upto 1836. It was due on the one hand to the inaccessible character of the country, and on the other the martial character of the ruling clan of these states who constantly resisted outside intruders tooth and nail and did not rest till they had regained their independence if ever conquered by any power from the neighbourhood. However, it is probable that they were oftenly subject to superior power without losing their identity and individuality. The historical tradition of Jammu speaks of its subjection to Takshila in pre-Christian centuries, and also to the powers at Sakala (Sialkot), and no doubt other states of Jammu group had the same type of experience. In the absence of any epigraphical and literary evidence it can be only assumed that this part of the Siwaliks formed part, nominally at least, of the great Empires of the Mauryas, Kushans and Guptas, which followed one another in succession in Northern India. The sway of such rulers as Ashoka and the three Kushana potentates, Kanishk_n, Huvishka and Jushka, who find mention in the *Rajatarangini*, spread as far as Kashmir and the Hill States could not be unaffected, and it seems probable that at a later date Mihirgula, the Huna, claimed supremacy over these hills. At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in the 7th century Parnotsa (Punch), Rajapuri (Rajauri) were subject to Kashmir. A few centuries afterwards rulers of Durgara (Dugar) and Vallapur (Balaur) attended the court of Kashmir king on his invitation.

The Jammu *vansavali* testifies to its subordination to the Shahis of Kabul and Lahore for whom rulers of Jammu fought many battles with the Ghaznavis. Mahmud's armies invaded Jammu territory also, but there is no evidence that these incursions penetrated farther into the mountains, and till the early part of the 12th century Kashmir claimed supremacy, as she had done at an earlier period, over the whole of the Western Hills, from the Ravi to the Indus. With the decline of that kingdom in the 12th century the Hill States regained their independence, and seem to have successfully maintained it for three or four hundred years.

Although the first notice of Jammu in Muslim writings is of its invasion by Timur in 1399, but it felt the impact of Muhammadan rule in India earlier than other states in the interior of the mountains. This remark would also apply to the states between the Chenab and the Jhelum, all the rulers of which ultimately embraced Islam. It was Akbar who made a methodical effort to subjugate the Hill States of Jammu group. After 1580 he led successive expeditions to conquer Kashmir which he finally occupied in 1586. The states of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Punch situated on and around the route to Kashmir Valley which afterwards came to be called the Mughal road, were first to fall victim to Akbar's armies and were thoroughly subjugated and their rulers and ruling clans were converted to Islam by the efforts of successive Mughal Emperors. Finally, Jammu and its dependencies, Jasrota, Samba, Mankot and Lakhanpur were conquered in 1594-95. With the conquest of Kashtwar by Jehangir in 1615 all the states of Jammu group became subject to the Mughals. To ensure the fidelity of the Hill Rajas, Akbar adopted the policy of retaining, as hostages at his court, a prince or near relative of the ruling chief from each of the state, and as Sir A. Cunningham says that in the beginning of the reign of Jahangir there were 22 young princes from the Panjab Hills at the Mughal court. It was about this time that title *Mian* came into use. How it originated we cannot say, but traditionally it is believed to have been conferred by Jahangir on these young princes¹⁷. In Chamba it first occurs as *Mie* on a copper-plate title-deed of Raja Balabhadra, dated A.D. 1613, as one of the titles of his son and heir-apparent, Janardhan. From that time its use seems to have spread, till in time it became the distinctive appellation of all the descendants of the twenty-two royal families of the Hindu Hill States.

17. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., p. 88,

But Ganesh Dass Badehra states that the Ghauri Sultans used to address, in the Iranian tradition of calling the Vakil (emissary) *mianji*, the sons, brothers and nephews of the Rajas of Jammu as *Mianji* in all their correspondence and *farmans*. All the Jamwal people considered this title a term of honour so they declared themselves *Mianji*, and since then the title of *Mian* had vogue among the Jamwal¹⁸.

For nearly two hundred years from the time of their subjugation by Akbar, the Hills Chiefs were tributary to the Mughals, but all accounts agree that the imperial authority sat very lightly on them. Their prerogatives were seldom questioned, and there was no interference in their internal affairs. Indeed throughout the entire period of Mughal supremacy, the Hill Chiefs seem to have experienced liberal and even treatment. They were left very much to themselves in the administration of their territories and were allowed to behave as independent rulers. They built forts and waged wars on one another without any references to the Emperor. They acted at times even against the imperial interest. For instance, Raja Kapur Dev of Jammu gave shelter of Mirza Kamran when the latter escaped from Humayun's court at Kabul¹⁹. Similarly, Kapur Dev (1530-1571) sent a force against imperial *fanjdar*, Sher Khan, and completely routed him when he tried to penetrate the Hill²⁰. Raja Sangram Dev (1594-1626). "one of the *zamindars* of the hill country of the Punjab" killed the famous Mughal general, Raja Man, and inspite of this incident Sangram Dev continued to be rising in favour with Jahangir who once again confirmed him to the *pargana* of Jammu²¹. In case of war between two states, the one that got worsted would sometimes appeal to Delhi for redress. Examples of such appeals to Delhi are found in records of several of the states. One such Persian document is a *sanad* of the reign of Shahjahan, regarding a boundary dispute between Sangram Pal of Balaur and Prithvi Singh (1641-64) of Chamba about the *pargana* of Bhalai, which was claimed by both states²². The dispute was settled by a second *sanad* in the reign of Aurangzeb in favour of Chamba, and by an imperial officer to whom the duty had been

18. Badehra,, Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, SPM., folio 136 a.

19. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 166 a.

20. Anon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, MS., p. 41

21. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, Lucknow text, p. 308.

22. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 2nd ed. p. 85.

entrusted by the Emperor. Each chief on his accession, had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor, by the payment of the fee of investiture after which he received a *kharitah* or patent of installation, with a *khilat*, or dress of honour, and other gifts from the Imperial court. A yearly tribute, called *nazarana* or *peshtnsh* was exacted from each state, the amount of which varied from state to state. For this purpose sometimes states were grouped under the leadership of Jammu and a formal letter or *sanad* confirming the Raja of Jammu as the head of the traditional number of twenty-two states was issued to the Jammu Chief. The states of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Punch, however, usually had direct contacts with the Mughal Emperor, particularly from the reign of Shahjahan onwards, whose son Aurangzeb had married the daughter of the Chief of Bhimbar-Rajauri. In letters and other documents the chiefs were addressed as *zamindar*, the title of Raja being conferred as personal distinction.

There seems to have been much friendly intercourse between the Chiefs of Jammu Hill States and the Imperial Court, as is proved by the letters and valuable presents received from the Emperors and still in possession of some of the royal families. Some of the chiefs gained a high place in imperial favour and were granted *mansab* or military rank in the army, and advanced to important offices in the administration. Akbar deputed Rai Pratap Dev of Mankot to arbitrate in the dispute of succession between Kapur Dev's son Samail Dev and the latter's nephew Parasram Dev and Jammu State was divided by Akbar among the disputants on the advice of Pratap Dev. Tedhi (or Tredhi) Dev (1700-1730) of the same state was granted Mahal Mori in Kangra as *jagir* by Aurangzeb for bravery in a battle fought for the Emperor²³. Raja Inder Dev of Bandralta, contemporary of Ranjit Dev, had received the title of *Diwan* from the Emperor of Delhi²⁴. Sangram Pal of Basohli lived at imperial court of Delhi for about a year and was sent back to Basohli in 1635 as its lawful chief. Raja Nag Pal of Bhadrawa was given the privilege of the royal drum—*naubat*—by Akbar which were used at the Bhadrawa palace and are now beaten in the temple of Basak Nag at Bhadrawa. Rajas of Jammu were particularly held in respect by the Mughals. Sangram Dev (1596-1626) held a *mansab* of three thousand in Mughal hegemony. Hari Dev (1656-1692) was also a mansabdar and he died

23. Kahan Singh Balaoria, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Rejputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 37 a.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 458;

in a Deccan campaign where he had accompanied Aurangzeb. The founder of the Muslim ruling dynasty of Punch, Chaudhri Sira)uddin Khan, won the favour of Jahangir by arranging everything for the imperial camp on one of his visits to Kashmir, and was made ruler of Punch with the title of Raja. The Mughal Emperors were particularly well-disposed towards rulers of Rajauri. Shah Jahan married prince Aurangzeb to Raj Banu, a Rajauri princess, called Raj Mahal Begam in the Mughal harem. Raja Inayatullah Khan of Rajauri played some role in the Mughal war of succession in 1657. He being closely related to Aurangzeb, sided with him when he entered the Punjab. Aurangzeb dismissed him with *khilat* and presents and *sanad* of conferment of Punch, Bhimber, Manawar, Khari-Khariali in *jagir*, after becoming emperor. The Rajauri family had family ties with the Mughal Emperor and the minor Raja Azamatullah Khan, only a child of three years, was brought by his aunt, queen Raj Mahal Begam, at the Emperor's household and was sent to succeed to the *gaddi* of Rajauri after reaching majority. The rulers of Bhimbar also enjoyed the special favour of the Mughal Emperors and on Todar Mal's recommendation a Khatri was appointed adviser of the Raja of Bhimbar and this arrangement continued as an amiable connection of the state with their sovereigns till the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752.

Yet even such tokens of imperial favour did not keep the Hill Chiefs loyal. Encouraged by the strength of their mountain fastnesses, they often broke out into rebellion and defied the power of the Mughals. The Rajas of Paithan (Nurpur) were specially turbulent. The Jammu Chiefs also rebelled whenever it suited their interests. They joined the widespread rebellion of the Hill Chiefs under Bidhi Chand of Kangra during 1594-95 against Akbar's authority. The Rajas of Jammu-Bahu, Mankot, Jasrota and Lakhanpur were among the chief leaders of the rebels. Raja Kapur Dev's son, Lal Dev, stormed the camp of the Mughal *nazim* of Sialkot, Sadiq Khan, which served as a signal for open rebellion against Mughal supremacy in which another Jammu leader Dange Man or Mian Mana of local tradition and "Man-Zamindar of Jammu" of *Akbarnama*, brother of Raja Samahl Dev (1571-1594) of Jammu, played a leading role. Mughal forces were sent against Jammu twice or thrice which did not succeed; and flouting of Mughal authority by Lal Dev and Dange Man continued in spite of the fact that "Armaments had several times been sent under Amirs of distinction to effect the subjugation

of Jammu, Ramgarh and other places²⁵." A strong Mughal force was finally sent to Jammu. A fierce battle was fought in which the Dogra chiefs were defeated. Lal Dev escaped and was never heard of again. Man took to guerilla warfare, killed and wounded a large number of Mughals. The Rajas of Jasrota, Lakhnpur, Mankot and Dhameri (Nurpur) also came to his assistance, with the result that much destruction was wrought to the Mughal forces and desultory warfare continued for some time before Man was worsted and unable to resist any longer he escaped to the rugged mountains²⁶. In Jahangir's reign Raja Sangram Dev killed Raja Man, Mughal governor of Punjab, as stated elsewhere. But after this incident the chiefs of Jammu Hills seem to have reconciled themselves to their semi-independent status under Mughal supremacy. During Shahjahan's reign the Mughal Empire reached the zenith of its prosperity and power, and the authority of the Central Government was felt and acknowledged in every part of the Western Hills. The Hill chiefs quietly settled down as tributaries by whom the imperial edicts were willingly accepted and obeyed. There are *sanads* still extant, issued to the chiefs of Jammu Hill States, appointing individuals to various judicial, revenue and administrative offices. There is a *patta* from Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi in favour of Raja Dhruv Dev 'Singh', confirming him as Raja of Jammu on special conditions and payment of *Nazrana* by him and Rajas Ranjit Dev and Gujral Dev, (probably Ghansar Dev), as Rajas of the Dogra Ilaqa²⁷. Another *Patta* dated 11 Rajab, 1192 H. (July 1778) from the Mughal Emperor, granted Raja Ranjit Dev supremacy over the surrounding Rajas of Jammu region and the territory of Sialkot²⁸. The representatives of the ruling families of Rajauri and Bhimber continued to enjoy till a recent date the privileges and titles like Raja and Mirza conferred by the Mughal Emperors on their ancestors, and where the duties have fallen into abeyance, the honorary titles of Raja and Mirza are still retained.

From the reign of Jahangir, the Raja of Jammu-Bahu and other Jammu States served the Mughal cause as their *mansabdars*, and also held their territories as subordinate Rajas. By the time of Aurangzeb's accession, the principalities of Jammu and Bahu

25. *Ma'asirul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 367.

26. Anon, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (MS), p. 47.

27. File No. 1, *Persian Records*, SAR (J) *patta* dated 13th Zilqadah, 1144 Hijri (A.D. 1732).

28. File No. 560, *Persian Records*, SAR (J).

had been weakened on account of division and had been reduced to abject subordination. The superior Mughal officers, called *fauj-dars*, were placed on Jammu, Ramgarh, and Jasrota since the fast decade of Akbar's reign. But excepting a few instances, the rulers of Jammu and other states never tolerated the direct Mughal rule in their territories. During the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign the relations which had long existed between the Mughal court and the Rajputs, came to an end. His intolerant policy stirred up bitter opposition in many parts of India and was resented by the chiefs of the Western Hillt. Rajas Gajai Dev and Dhruv Dev had started flouting the *fauj-dars*, and as soon as that Emperor died, the rulers of Jammu drove away Mughal officers from their territory and became independent, owing nominal allegiance to Delhi for a few decades more. With the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707 the period of decline began which heralded the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The invasion of Nadir Shah and the rise of Sikh Misls, accompanied by the Durrani incursions, hastened the final dissolution, and brought about a state of anarchy in Northern India. Mughal sway over the Hill States came to an end with the cession of the Punjab in 1752 to Ahmad Shah Durrani, by his namesake, the Emperor of Delhi. Thereafter for years the province was trodden down under the heel of the Afghan and the distress of the people surpassed all limits. Ranjit Dev saved the situation from becoming worse for Jammu Hill States by bringing them all under his protection and by dint of the collective strength and his own political acumen he successfully resisted the Sikh and Durrani powers from penetrating the Jammu Hills.

By the time the Durrani supremacy was established in the Punjab as result of the cession of the province to Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752 by his namesake Emperor Ahmad Shah of Delhi, Ranjit Dev had become supreme in the Jammu Hills between the Ravi and the Jehlam. The Western or Kashmir group of States became directly under Afghan rule after the cession and Kashmir was ruled by an Afghan governor. The people of these states were all of the same religion as their rulers, and being also warlike, they provided recruits to the Afghan army and to some extent became partners in Afghan administration. But the Central or Jammu group of states and Kangra—Chamba group were never more than nominally subject to the Durrani. During the anarchy which prevailed in the plains, the Hill Chiefs assumed their independence and recovered the tracts of which they had all been deprived by

the Mughals.²⁹ Most of the Jammu Hill States, connected to the Jammu ruling family by ties of blood, formed subordinate alliance with the mother state and Jammu became a considerable power in the Hills under Maharaja Ranjit Dev. He conquered territories even upto Koolowal, Kotli, Minawar and Bajwath.³⁰ Ahmad Shah Durrani won over Ranjit Dev to his side by recognising him king of the Hill territories over which he had de facto control. In addition he made him the governor of the three Shahi *parganas* of Zafarwal, Sankhatra and Aurangabad.³¹ When Adina Beg was supreme in the Punjab for some years he also solicited Ranjit Dev's help. From 1752 till 1764 the Hill Chiefs enjoyed practical freedom, except for a short time in 1758, when they and even the Mughal Nawab of Kangra, were compelled to yield to Adina Beg Khan, Governor of the Punjab, first for the Mughals and then for the Marathas. This able man aimed at setting up an independent kingdom, and in this he would probably have been successful if his brief but brilliant career had not been cut short by death. He founded the town of Adinanagar (popularly called Dinanagar), near Pathankot, which is named after him.

After the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1767, Afghan rule virtually came to an end and the Sikhs then acquired political power. They had by that time formed themselves into a dozen confederacies called *misls*, which preceded their consolidation into one kingdom under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. One of these was Sukarchakia *misl* whose Chiefs Charat Singh and his son Mahan Singh, were first to invade Jammu territories and extract some blackmail or tribute from its ruler. The Kanheya and Bhangi *misaldars* whose territory verged on that of Jammu, also carried on occasional raids on Jammu territory. In 1756 the Bhangi Chief Gujjar Singh over-ran Jammu territory and siezed Islamgarh, Punch and Deva Batala. In 1761-62 Hari Singh Bhangi "Sacked Jammu at the head of 12,000 cavalry". The Bhangis attacked Jammu for the third and last time in about 1770 and Ranjit Dev was forced to pay tribute and "by his wise policy he warded off the danger for a time".³² After that Ranjit Dev seems to have

29. Latif, Sayd Muhammad, *History of the Punjab*, p. 301.

30. Smyth, G.C., *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore* p. 242.

31. Bilgrami, Ghulam Ali Azad, *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 100; *Sialkot Disst. Gazet.*, p. 16; *Tahmas Nama*, 66 a-70 a; Dr. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, p. 105; Dr. Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, p. 189.

32. Gupta, H.R., *History of Sikhs*, Vol. III, p. 123.

become very strong and succeeded in recovering from Sikhs all the territories on the both sides of the Chenab. He extended his sway over Chamba and Nurpur and defeated Raja Ghammand Chand of Kangra in a battle in 1774. Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli and Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur were his sons-in-law, Raja Raj Singh of Chamba was his sister's son, and Ranjit Dev had appointed his own administrator over Chamba to help the Raja thereof. Bhadarwa and Kashtwar were under his sway. To the West of Chenab Akhnur, Rajauri, Bhimbar, Kotli, and Manawar were under his direct control and the Raja of Punch was his tributary. Ghammand Chand and Ahmad Shah Durrani had died by 1774. Bhangi Chiefs Ganda Singh and Jhanda Singh and Sukarchakia *misaldar* Charat Siagh, the most powerful rivals of Ranjit Dev in the plains, had also died. After 1775 Ranjit Dev had thus been left supreme in the Hills from the Jehlam in the west, to Chamba and Kangra in the east. His sway extended on the adjoining plains upto Sialkot Wazirabad and Gujrat. *Tarikh-i-Punjab* States that Rajauri was tributary to Jammu.³³ Minawar was also a *jagir* of the heir-apparent Brijraj Dev.³⁴ He had extended his sway over the north-eastern states including Bhadrawa in 1752 and over Kashtwar the same year.³⁵

After the death of Ranjit Dev, great changes occurred in the polity and combination of Jammu Hill States. His successor, Brijraj Dev, tried to maintain his kingdom intact but domestic feud and the incursions of the neighbouring *misls* not only weakened Jammu as a superior power but also heralded its disintegration. All the territory in the plains was lost and Brijraj Dev tried for all the five years of his rule to recover these and was constantly at war with the neighbouring *misls* of Sukarchakias, Bhangis and Kanheyas, and was finally killed in such a battle in 1787. The states of Rajauri and Punch had assumed their independence immediately on Ranjit Dev's death. Bhadarwa and Kashwar were also lost, as Forster visiting Jammu in April 1783, a year after Ranjit Dev's death, states that the state included the whole mountain area northward to the river Chenab where it bordered with Kashtwar and Bhadrawa then under Chamba. Chanehni and Bhoti were subject to Jammu. To the east the states of Mankot, Bhadu and Basohli were dependencies of Jammu,

33. *Tarikh-i-Panjab* by Ghulam Mohiud-Din, cited by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Voghel, *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 545.

34. *Rajdarshni*, *SPM* fo', 209 b.

35. *HPHS*, Vol. II, pp. 624, 656.

Jasrota had a similar status, but Samba had long ago become a part of Jammu.³⁶ Brijraj Dev also maintained some semblance of sovereignty over states to the east of the Ravi. In several disputes among Chamba, Nurpur and Basohli he dispensed their cases in the capacity of their overlord. A number of *Ta'ari* letters and *sanads* preserved in Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba bear this out. In one instance, Raja Raj Singh of Chamba revived his claim on Bhalai, Jhunda, Bhandal, Kehar and Dieur, then in possession of Basohli, and applied to Brijraj Dev for help. Brijraj Dev, recognising his claim, wrote to Raja Bijya Pal of Basohli to restore to Chamba these disputed villages. When the latter did not comply with his orders, Brijraj Dev wrote to him another letter in September, 1784, and got his orders carried out by force of arms.³⁷

With the death of Brijraj Dev in 1787, the disintegration of Jammu Hill States was accelerated. The outlying States shook off the yoke of allegiance to Jammu. The States to the west of the Chanab, with the exception of Akhnur which had become an integral part of Jammu itself, had transferred their allegiance to the Durrani through their governor of Kashmir. Kashtwar and Bhadrava declared their independence. Basohli and Mankot were successively attacked by the Kanheya, Ramgaria and Bhangi *misl-dars* who had entrenched themselves in Pathankot-Batala-Hajipur-Mukerian region. Jammu itself was raided, invaded and plundered frequently by Sukarchakia-Bhangi-Kanheya combinations and the Jamwal leader, Mian Mota, the administrator of Jammu under the last two rulers, Sampuran Dev and Jit Singh, found it hard to resist the formidable combination of plunderers and to curb the internal dissensions. He had therefore to tender submission of the Jammu Raj to the Sukarchakia Chief Mahan Singh, and with his help he quelled lawlessness and eradicated revolts and by agreeing to pay annual tribute saved the State from recurring inroads of Sikh bands. But the sovereignty and independence of Jammu and its subordinate States was lost and disintegration was almost complete.

The Durrani also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the Hill States. Sampuran Dev's name occurs in a *sanad* of Raja Jit Singh of Chamba from Shah Zaman of Kabul, dated in January 1797, in which the Raja of Chamba has been enjoined to perform the services of the *diwani* in conjunction with Sampuran Dev of

36. *HPHS*, Vol. II, pp. 548-49.

37. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba documents Nos. C-30, C-31, C-32; Kahan Singh Balauria, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Jammu.³⁸ This rescript he issued when he invaded the Punjab. This, however, had no effect, as on his with-drawal to Afghanistan the Sikhs again became supreme.³⁹ It seems that the greatest supporters of the Durrani were the last two rulers of Jammu who tried to salvage their declining principality by professing allegiance to Kabul. When Shah Zaman entered Lahore on 1st January, 1797, he ordered his *wazir* a letter to be addressed to the Raja of Jammu.⁴⁰ Probably it is this letter of investiture which has been referred to by Ganesh Dass.⁴¹ "An imperial letter and a dignified *Khilat* of Jammu Raj was received in the name of Raja Sampuran Singh.' The minor Raja was too glad to receive imperial acknowledgement of his right to the throne of Jammu. He ran to the Gumat Gate to receive the *Khilat*, pulled it over his body and tugged the imperial letter in his turban as something most sacred and strutted through the bazars, followed by a couple of Afghan officers and footmen. Not only Jammu was confirmed on him but territories of Manawar, Bajwat, Thub, Chaprar, Ramgarh and Zafarwal were also confirmed on him as before.⁴² But the whole affair proved very short-lived. In the battle fought eleven days later, on the 12th January, the Durrani were defeated and Shah Zaman evacuated Lahore that day and hurried across the Ravi on the 30th January. Thus the Punjab politics slipped back into the old grooves, and the Raja of Jammu had to content himself with tendering his formal fealty to Ranjit Singh Sukarchakia,⁴³ who now led his *misl* after the death of his father Mahan Singh in 1794, although the Afghans continued to depend on his alliance for some years more. In November, 1798 Shah Zaman wrote from Gujarat to Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and the Raja of Jammu, desiring them not to allow the Sikh families to take refuge in the Hills.⁴⁴ Raja Jit Singh received Afghan troops with profession of loyalty and expressed his willingness to pay tribute, and despatched Mian Musa, the Superintendant of his household, to Shah Zaman,⁴⁵ and when the latter had occupied Lahore on 30th November, the Vakil Nathu Singh, from the Raja of Jammu, waited upon Shah Zaman

38. *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba*, p. 76, No. C-46.

39. *JPHS*, Vol. viii, 1920, p. 129.

40. *Imperial Records, Persian Letters Received*, Nos. 71, 36.

41. *Rajdarshani, SPM.*, fol. 224 a.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Husain Shahi*, p. 234, States that the Raja of Jammu was under Ranjit Singh's suzerainty in 1795.

44. *Imperial Records, Foreign Department*, No. 17, dated 24 Dec., 1798.

45. *Ibid.*

with a letter and a *nazar* of 101 rupees from his master.⁴⁶ This is probably the last recorded reference to Jammu's relations with the Afghan rulers. After that we find them struggling for maintaining its separate entity under the growing supremacy of Ranjit Singh over Jammu Hill States. The rulers and people of Jammu purchased off their independence when Ranjit Singh advanced on Jammu in 1802 ; and they threw back the Sikh invasion under Hukma Singh Chimni, the commander of Sialkot, in 1808. But the invaders were far superior in numbers and at last they over came the resistance of the people of Jammu and soon Jammu with its dependant principalities passed under the control of Ranjit Singh's officers. Mian Mota was made *madar-ul-maham* (Minister) of Jammu, who helped Sikhs in the conquest of surrounding territory and induced them even to cross the Chanab and occupy Akhnur, Deva Batala and the Chib and Bhow tracts. Soon after, in January, 1809 Ranjit Singh went to Jasrota and levied contributions. He next proceeded to Basohli and exacted 8,000 rupees from the Rajah as an annual tribute in addition to *nazarana*. Ranjit Singh's political influence thus extended to the Southern belt of the Dogra principalities, from Basohli and Jasrota in the east to Akhnur and Deva Batala in the west. His discomfiture in the cis-Satluj territories resulting in circumscription of his kingdom to the north of the Satluj by the Treaty of Amritsar, 1809, diverted all his energies towards the north Hill States and the Afghan territories in Multan, Derajat and Kashmir. He changed his outlook regarding Dogra and Katoch principalities and instead of plundering them he started conquering them to make them an integral part of his kingdom. He acquired the famous Kangra fort from Raja Sansar Chand in 1805, made Raja Jit Singh of Jammu subordinate to him in 1810 and then converted Jammu into a *jagir* for his heir-apparent Prince Kharak Singh and pensioned off Raja Jit Singh in 1812.

Thus with the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Supreme power the Hill States fell upon evil days. Had he been satisfied to make them tributary, it would have been tolerable, for they had been more or less in subjection for centuries. But this did not meet his designs, which he soon began to disclose, and which involved the complete subversion of the hill principalities. "The Rajputs were an object of special aversion to him, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined of countenance an organisation in which high caste counted for nothing ; their existence, therefore, could not be tolerated and they were

46. *Imperial Records, Foreign Deptt. No. 28, December 1799.*

mercilessly crushed." It was in pursuance of this policy that Ranjit Singh conquered Basohli, Jasrota, Jammu, Akhnur and Deva Batala and appointed his own officers to administer these territories. Afterwards he directed his energy to the subversion of the Muslim States of Bhimbar, Rajauri, Punch and Kashmir, and the conquest of the States of the Inner Mountains—Bhadrawa, Kashtwar, Bhoti, Riasi and others, was left to the endeavours of Gulab Singh, who had joined Sikh service in 1810 as a trooper.

From 1752 to 1819, Punch, Rajauri and Bhimbar-Kotli and Khari Khariiali were under Durrani rule and due to dynastic rivalries and the interference of the Afghan governor of Kashmir chaos continued to prevail in these States. With the rise of Sikh power in the Punjab the political chaos in the Hill States, more especially in Punch, aggravated. Before 1810, Ranjit Singh had established his paramountcy over all the Hill States east of the Chenab. Now he directed his energy towards those to the west of that river, His main objective was to conquer Kashmir from the Afghan rulers who still claimed suzerainty over that country and States to the west of the Chenab. The subjection of the States of Bhimbar, Rajauri, Kotli, Khari-Khariiali and Punch thus became a necessary preliminary to any further advance⁴⁷. From about 1782 inroads from the Sikh roving bands, intent on plunder, had become frequent in these States after the death of Ranjit Dev. But the real danger to these States arose from Maharaja Ranjit Singh's resolve to conquer these for himself. Bhimbar was the first to fall victim to his imperialism in about 1810. At that time Sultan Khan, a brave and resolute man, was the ruler of Bhimbar. In that year Ranjit Singh made first inroads into the Chibhan territory. Sultan Khan made a determined resistance, but had finally to submit and pay Rs. 40,000 in tribute. A large portion of his state was at the same time made over to a relative, named Ismail Khan with a view probably of weakening the State. In 1812 Sultan Khan killed Ismail Khan in a conflict. A Sikh force was therefore sent against him which was routed by him. But on arrival of strong reinforcements he opened negotiations and was offered favourable terms. But on arrival in Lahore Ranjit Singh committed him to prison in the Lahore fort, putting him in chains.⁴⁸ There he remained for six years. The State was

47. *HPSH*, Vol. II, p. 722.

48. Mehjar Singh, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Chibhal*, Jammu, 1926, p. 74; Kahan Sing Balaoria, *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 98.

conquered and conferred on Prince Kharak Singh in *jagir*.⁴⁹ Thus Bhimbar and Mirpur were reduced in 1810 and 1812 respectively after hard fighting.⁵⁰

In 1813 Maharaja Ranjit Singh personally led Sikh armies to Punch. Ruhallah Khan, the Raja of Punch, had sympathy with the Afghans. Ranjit Singh, therefore, wrote him a letter asking his cooperation in the conquest of Kashmir. To this an evasive answer was returned, pleading engagement with Kashmir and inability to comply with the Maharaja's wishes as his son was a hostage in the hands of the Durranis. Ranjit Singh therefore led personally his armies on Punch on his way to conquer Kashmir, and sent another army over the Pir Panjal to invade the valley. Ruhallah Khan with his armies fell back before them in the direction of Tosh Maidan after issuing orders to his people to abandon all towns and villages and harass the enemy in every way. The Sikh movement was delayed for want of supplies. The troops of the Raja of Punch in league with that of Rajauri hung on their flanks and cut off stragglers. Ranjit Singh's advance army was defeated by the Afghans who now made a general attack on the main Sikh army led by the Maharaja himself. The Sikhs were routed and in great disorder, Maharaja Ranjit Singh hurriedly set Punch town on fire and left it in a precipitate flight towards Lahore. Ranjit Singh's preoccupations elsewhere gave Punch a few years' lease of independence though he seethed with revenge all these years. The opportunity came when in 1819 Ranjit Singh conquered and occupied Kashmir and all the Hill country slipped under his control. On this occasion also the Raja of Punch sided with the Afghans and was consequently expelled out of his State on the defeat of Afghans in Kashmir. The same year Ruhallah Khan died, and four years after him his son Amir Khan also followed him to the grave. He was succeeded to the throne by his son Raja Mir Baz Khan. By this time Gulab Singh had conquered Punch on orders of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and so Raja Mir Baz Khan was called to Lahore where he was murdered by one of his old enemies. Maharaja then granted a *jagir* in Punch to Sher Baz Khan, the head of the collateral branch of the family which was held by his descendants till 1947. Soon after conquest Punch was conferred as 'Raj' on Raja Dhian Singh, younger brother of Gulab Singh and Prime

49. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *Tawarikh-i Rajgan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 98 ; *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 727.

50. Latif, S.M., *History of the Punjab*, pp. 388 and 393.

Minister of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Of the Muhammadanised Rajput Chiefships, Rajauri was the last to be subdued by Ranjit Singh. During the Mughal rule the Muslim Chiefs of Rajauri were subject to them. On the cession of the Punjab to Ahmed Shah Durrani in A.D. 1752 by the Mughals, the ruler of Rajauri, Azmatullah Khan, had good subordinate relations with the new masters. He assisted Durrani armies in the expedition against Kashmir. His son had predeceased him so his grandson, Karamullah Khan succeeded to the principality in 1765. He died in 1808, and was succeeded by his son Agarullah Khan. Ranjit Singh attempted to conquer Bhimbar, Kotli and Rajauri in 1810 and 1812. Rajauri, however, defied all attempts. Raja Agarullah Khan secretly retarded Ranjit Singh's attempt on conquest of Kashmir. In 1812 Ranjit Singh sent his armies for the first time to conquer Kashmir and invited Raja Agarullah Khan of Rajauri to co-operate assuring him of friendly relations and disavowing any design against the State. The Raja promised help but the expedition in 1813 also met the same fate. The Sikhs set up earnest preparations for another expedition of Kashmir, this time Ranjit Singh personally accompanying the army of invasion. In June, 1814 he advanced into the Hills and reached Rajauri on the 14th. The Raja of Punch refused to co-operate. Raja Agarullah Khan agreed to assist the Sikhs, but later he took to treachery and secretly did all in his power to retard the advance and harass the Sikhs by sending out his men in the dress of peasants to cut off stragglers and supplies and create panic.⁵¹ So the expedition miserably failed and even Ranjit Singh himself escaped with difficulty. All the Sikh officers represented that the disaster was due to the double part played by Agarullah Khan. A large force was therefore sent against him in 1815 ; Rajauri was besieged and its fortifications were battered down with gun-fire. The Raja escaped and fled towards Kotli. The capital was plundered and the country around was laid waste and abandoned and the invading armies withdrew with loot. Agarullah Khan came back to his capital and found the fortifications irreparable and defenceless.

Before equipping another expedition for Kashmir expeditious and comprehensive preparations were made. Agarullah Khan's younger brother Rahimullah Khan was won over for Sikh cause on offer of Chiefship of Rajauri. In April 1819, the Sikh armies

51. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 691.

advanced into the Hills and occupied Rajauri and Punch. Agarullah Khan fled to the mountains and held the approaches to passes of the Pir Panjal, while his brother, Rahimullah Khan joined the Sikhs and gave every assistance in his power in the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs that year. For these services the Raja was suitably rewarded and confirmed as Raja of Rajauri. Raja Agarullah Khan was captured in the spring of 1820 by Raja Gulab Singh, who had been appointed for that duty, and was sent to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825. Rajauri thus lost its independence but escaped subversion by the Jammu family due to the favour of the rulers of Lahore.

With the rise of the Jammu family during the second decade of the nineteenth century began the last phase of the history of Jammu Hill States during which they disappeared for ever as separate entities within a span of about twenty years, with the exception of Rajauri, which existed as a separate state to the day of the creation of Jammu and Kashmir State in which it was finally merged. The head of Jammu family in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's day was Mian Kishor Singh, who was the grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Dev's second younger brother Mian Surat Singh. Mian Kishor Singh had three sons, Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. With the annexation of Jammu by Ranjit Singh in 1810, the family entered Sikh service as troopers one after the other, beginning with Gulab Singh who was recruited as *miraldar* trooper by Ranjit Singh himself in 1810 through the influence of Gulab Singh's uncle, Mian Mota, the *madarul-maham* (minister) of Jammu, at that time. Within two years all other members of the family, including its head, had been taken in Sikh army. By 1815 they had won favour with Maharaja Ranjit Singh by their assiduous, meritorious and loyal service, with the result that a number of villages were conferred on the family as *jagir* from time to time, including those of Kharoti, Bhandian, Beol, "Sohara and Ramgarh upto Pindi, known as *talluqa* Ghari,"⁵² district of Nihal and *jagir* of Sawan Mall⁵³ and Lala—Chobara and others. Soon they became military commanders. In 1818, Dhian Singh was given the charge of *Deodhi* (Chamberlain). However, of the ancient States Riasi was the first to be conferred as *jagir* on them in 1817 and Gulab Singh suppressed the revolt of its dispossessed *jagirdars*, Mian Diwan Singh and his son Bhup Singh, with an iron hand. "The Rajpoot brothers were now all in all at the court."⁵⁴ All of

52. *Rajdarshani*, BMM ; fol. 271 b.

53. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 93.

54. Smyth, G.C., *Hist. of the Reigning family of Lahore*, pp. 250-51.

them became Rajas, acquired *jagirs* and contracts that enriched them beyond count.⁵⁵ The year 1820 was particularly auspicious for the family when Gulab Singh succeeded in the task of suppressing a revolt in Rajauri and capturing Raja Agarullah Khan, a special object of hatred for Ranjit Singh, for which task Gulab Singh had been specially deputed. For this and for other services, the family was granted the *jagirs* of, "*talluqa chakla Jammu, Patti Bhoti, Bandralta, Chanehni and Kishtwar.*"⁵⁶

On the death of Raja Kishor Singh in 1822, Ranjit Singh made Gulab Singh Raja of Jammu, which once again became the nucleus of Jammu Raj under the sway of which all the Jammu Hill States began to be drawn. His Raj at that time included besides Jammu and Bahu, States of Bhoti, Bandralta, Bhadrava, Riasi, Akhnur, Samba and Kashtwar. His youngest brother Suchet Singh, had also been made Raja of Ramnagar—Bandralta and Basohli. In 1827, Dhian Singh was also created Raja and Chibhal (Bhimbar—Punch) tract was given to him as *Raj*. All these states were administered under a written family pact by Raja Gulab Singh, who while administering those of his brothers, added more to his own.⁵⁷

The bestowal of Jammu Raj on Gulab Singh and his exaltation to the title of 'Raja' was an event of great consequence for Jammu Hill States. Jammu had been, at least from the days of Raja Maldev (1360—1400 A.D.), the central nucleus of the political life of the Dogras. The acquisition of this capital as a principality assured Gulab Singh political pre-eminence and control over all the states of the region. It also served as a nucleus for further expansion and the ultimate integration of all the states lying between the Ravi and the Jehlum into one larger state. The next stage in this integration was reached when in 1836 Ranjit Singh bestowed Jasrota as *Raj*, along with the title of Raja, on Hira Singh, the eldest son of Raja Dhian Singh. During the years between 1834 and 1841 Gulab Singh conquered and annexed to his Jammu kingdom the countries of Ladakh and Baltistan. Thus whole of the present Jammu province, excluding Rajauri State, came under the sway of one family of which Gulab Singh was the eldest member, and in that capacity he administered all these territories on behalf of the entire family. The ruler of Rajauri

55. Steinbach, Lt.—Col., *The Punjaub*, p. 20

56. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulabnama*, Eng. tr., pp. 92-93.

57. Smyth, G.C., *op. cit.*, p. 199.

State succeeded in escaping the supremacy of the Jammu family for another five years due to the special favour in which he was held by Sikh Maharajas of Lahore to whom he professed allegiance. But in March, 1846 when these territories, over which Gulab Singh had already been ruling, were transferred to Gulab Singh along with other territories like Kashmir and Gilgit lying between the Ravi and the Indus as part of Jammu and Kashmir State, Rajauri also passed under Gulab Singh's supremacy, and thus the last of the Jammu Hill States, and probably the oldest of the group, became extinct.

IV

APTHAKURAI, THE AGE OF THAKUR AND RANA SUPREMACY : EXTENT AND DURATION

Before the advent of the Rajas in Jammu and other Hills, these regions seem to have been parcelled out into hundreds of tiny statelets ruled by local chiefs who were called *Thakuras* and *Ranas* who refused to recognise any of their rank as supreme. The name *Thakur* is a Sanskritised rather than a true Sanskrit word and may have been introduced in India by some foreign tribes; purely as a title, meaning "Lord". It is also used as a caste name in Bhadrawa and other areas for a tribe of Rajputs. In Rajasthan the *Thakurs* are all Rajputs, the name being chiefly used as a title. The caste name used in the Jammu-Kangra Hills slightly differs in pronunciation with emphasis on 'K' and may be spelt in its ancient form "*Thakkura*". In these Hills *Thakkuras* were formerly considered as inferior Rajputs, indicating their foreign origin. In Jammu even their claim to belong to the Rajput group was sometimes disputed. It may be noted that the title of *Rana* has come down from ancient times in the royal line of Udaipur, Dholpur and Jhalawar, and the nobility of the Rajput States of Rajputana all bear the title of *Thakur*.⁵⁸ Some of the oldest petty rulers in these Hills seem to have belonged to *Thakkura* and *Rana* castes. In non-ruling and non-kshatriya families also there must have been men of strong personality, who claimed and asserted their rights as leaders. Such men having conquered a tract of country, assumed or were given the title of *Thakkura*, later *Thakur*, which in course of time became a caste name. An exactly analogous adaptation of the title is afforded in the word *Rana*. The word is an abbreviated popular form of *Rajanaka*, it was originally used only for the petty chiefs, it also came to be employed later as a caste name, to distinguish their families from

58. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 135-36.

ordinary Rajputs. Another form of the caste name was probably "*Ranaputra*" in analogy with *Rajaputra*, as found in an inscription in the abbreviated form of *Ranautra*. A caste name in Kashtwar, Rotar may still be an abbreviation of *Ranautra*, i.e., *Ranaputra*, son of a *Rana*.

It would seem that the two titles implied a difference of caste, the *Thakurs* ranking lower than the *Ranas* socially—a distinction which is maintained to the present day. As a caste the *Thakurs* rank in the hills immediately below the Rajputs. Till recent years our information regarding the *Ranas* and *Thakurs* was derived chiefly from the *Rajatarangini* and the Baijnath Eulogies, but the inscriptions lately found in Chamba State have added much to our knowledge of the subject. The oldest inscription by a *Rana* is at Gun, in the upper Ravi valley, and it records the erection of the temple by one who calls himself *samanta* or feudatory of Raja Meru-Varman (A.D.) 700. The word *Rajanaka* does not occur in the inscription, but there can be little doubt that Ashadha was a *Rana*. The oldest record, actually bearing the title of *Rajanaka*, was found at Svain, in Himgiri *pargana* of Chamba. It states that the image on which the title occurs was set up by one Bhogata, the son of Somata, and it may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century. At Sarahan near Saho an inscribed stone was found bearing a eulogy, the principal part of which is devoted to the praise of the donor's wife. It probably dates from the tenth century. Among other inscriptions of a later date, the work of *Rana*, may be noted that of Nagapala at Devi-Kothi, in Behra *pargana*.⁵⁹

These inscriptions are chiefly found on stone slabs which formed part of cisterns, erected in memory of deceased relatives. Such cisterns, called *Panihar* and *nahun*, are very common in the Ravi and Chandrabhaga valleys and the largest are in Pangi and Padar.

We are indebted to these petty chiefs for the beautifully carved cisterns, *baolis* and slab inscriptions so common in Chamba and other parts of the Hills, and these inscriptions convey to us quite a favourable impression of these ancient chiefs. The Baijnath eulogy says of a *Rana*: "Even now exist such wonderful men, filled with devotion to Ishvara, like that store of marvellous virtue, the *Rajanaka* named Lakshmana Chandra, who after performing a pilgrimage to Kendra that cleanses from old sin, made even

59. *HPHS.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

this vow, "Hence forth shall all wives of others be sisters to me." Chivalry and romance were the chief characteristics of these petty chiefs. Referring to them Dr. Voghel says :

"No doubt like the knights of medieval Europe, they regarded love and war as the great aims of life. But their love was often the devotions of the husband, and their warlike spirit was not rarely displayed in loyal services to their liege-lord. Of the conjugal devotion of these warlike barons we have ample proof in these quaint fountain slabs, which they set up for the sake of the future bliss of their deceased wives. And we find it expressed even more clearly in the solemn Sanskrit of those eulogies where, hidden under the weight of rhetorical ornament, we still feel the pulsations of true love. Would it be just to cast on the hero of the Sarahan eulogy, the reproach that his love for beauteous Somaprabha was inspired merely by her fair form, the beauty of which is sung in such glowing measures, in that love song carved in stone ? Did he not prove its sincerity, when to establish a firm friendship between her and the mountain-born goddess (Parvati), he built a temple to the moon-crowned Shiva.

In the half-obliterated lines of the Mul-Kihar stone we still read of the tears shed by the chieftain of that place and his children, when hostile fate separated her, his most beloved seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes and praised by all mankind, from her husband, even as the passing of the parvan separates the Moon-sickle from the hot-rayed Sun.⁶⁰ Concluding his remarks on the true conjugal love of the *Ranas* and their spouses Dr. Voghel says :

I know of no Indian inscriptions in which true human sentiments find so eloquent an expression as in those two irreparably mutilated fountain slabs ; nor would it be easy to point to another group of epigraphical records in which the feminine element is so prominent as in those of Chamba."⁶¹

The distribution of the *Rana* and *Thakur* families at the recent times is probably a fairly trustworthy indication of the areas where their ancestors held supremacy in former times. In Kangra most of the old families appear to be *Ranas* ; but if their ancestors ever held independent power, it must have been at a remote period, as Kangra State was founded some centuries before the Christian era. Mr. Barnes has the following remarks about

60. Dr. J. Ph. Voghel, Ph.D., *Antiquities of Chamba*, Vol. I, p. 128.

61. *Ibid.*

them, "Another class of Rajputs who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty chiefs or '*Ranas*', whose title and tenure is said to have preceded even that of the Rajas themselves. These petty chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed in the larger principalities, still the name of *Rana* is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by the *Mians*⁶². In Chamba we find very few *Thakur* families; most of the old petty chiefs having been *Ranas*. In the Chandrabhaga valley, Lahul was largely held in Jagir by families of Tibetan origin now bearing the title of *Thakur* which was conferred when they came under the sway of Kulu in the seventeenth century. The *Thakurs* were confined to the valleys of the Chandra and the Bhaga; and from the junction of these rivers in British Lahul, down to Pangi and Padar *Rana* traditions predominated. In the middle Chandrabhaga valley, on the other hand, from Padar to the outer hills the title of *Rana* is little known, and most of the families who formerly held power seem to have been *Thakurs*. They are several times referred to in the *Rajatarangini*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and two of them befriended Bhikshachara, grandson of King Harsha, in the attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir, which had been usurped by the Lohara princes. But while *Thakurs* ruled the main valleys, the smaller valleys of Bhadrewah and Balesa, adjoining Chamba to the west were under the control of *Ranas*. Again, in the outer hills nearer the plains, between the Ravi and Jehlam, local tradition points to the presence of both *Ranas* and *Thakurs*, thus the *Thakuras* of Lohara are several times mentioned in the *Rajatanagini*, in the later part of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries⁶³.

As regards the country between Jehlam and the Indus, we have no reliable information about its condition in ancient times but there too, tradition tells of "Powerful *Ranas*", who ruled long ago; and we may safely assume that, down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest its political condition did not materially differ from that of the rest of the hills. In the Satluj valley also, it is worthy of note that of the Simla Hill states—20 in number called collectively "the *Thakurain*"—the rulers of all but four bear the ancient title *Rana* or *Thakur*; and of the larger states one ruler,—the Raja of Keonthal,—formerly a *Rana*, received the title of Raja in 1857 from the British Government, and more recently the *Rana* of Jubhal was also so honoured⁶⁴.

62. Barnes, *Kangra Settlement Report*, pp. 39 and 269.

63. Stein, A.M., *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Bk. VII, verses, 706, 775-780.

64. *HPHS*, Vol. I, p. 102.

In Kashmir the title of *Rajanaka* and *Thakkura* were in use in the eleventh and subsequent centuries to indicate the feudal baron ; but there are no traditions pointing to the country ever having been under the rule of these petty chiefs. Even if this primitive political order ever did exist in Kashmir, it must have been at a very remote period ; for that kingdom, like Trigarta, was founded centuries before the Christian era. The conversion of the bulk of the population to Islam must, however, have had a tendency to destroy all traditions of early Hindu rule. The feudal barons in Kashmir, corresponding to the *Ranas* and *Thakurs* in other parts of the hills bore the title of '*Damara*', and they belonged chiefly to a class called '*Lavanya*' who were agriculturists, and may therefore have held much the same social rank as *Thakurs*, *Rathis* and similar agricultural castes elsewhere in the hills. Sir Aurel Stein's account leads us to infer that they were lower in rank than the Rajputs. The first notice we have to the *Damaras* in the *Rajatarangini* is in the reign of Raja Lalitaditya A.D. 700, and they were then hereditary land-holders, of whose growing influence the king entertained well grounded suspicions⁶⁵. Their power went on increasing during the next three centuries, but did not reach its fullest development till the accession of the Lohara dynasty in A.D. 1003. The true origin of the title is more or less uncertain but it doubtless meant "a feudal land-owner" or "baron" and was thus synonymous with *Rajanaka* and *Thakkura*. It continued in use, chiefly as a courtesy title, down to the period of the Mughal conquest, and has not been traced outside Kashmir. As regards the conditions under which the *Damaras* acquired and held their lands, Sir Aurel Stein concludes that it was in return for military service, a kind of tenure common in other parts of the hills. All the *Jagirdars* in Chamba, and probably the other states as well held their lands on this tenure, and the same was true of the *Ranas*. As feudal barons they were under obligation to accompany their liege lords, the Raja, on his military expeditions ; and on the fountain slabs they are depicted as knights on horseback, armed with sword and shield. In this relationship we see a close analogy to the feudal system of Medieval Europe.

Traditions of the *Apthakarai* (independent rule) period are common throughout the hills, and many traces still exist of the old order of things. According to Sir J.B. Lyall, many of the existing *Kothis* and *tappas* in Kulu are said to have preserved their present limits from the time, when each of them formed the domain of a

65. Stein A.M., *Rajatarangini* 79 cit. op., Bk VI verse 348.

*Thakur*⁶⁶.

The period during which the *Ranas* and *Thakurs* ruled in the hills is spoken of as the "*Thakuri*" or "*Thakurain*" and that in Chamba the name "*Ranhui*" is sometimes heard. This *Thakurain* rule seems to have been of ancient origin but when it began and how long it lasted are questions to which no satisfactory answers can be given. It probably dated from a very remote antiquity; and it continued in force till a much later period in some parts of the hills than the others. Sir J.B. Lyall points out that the traditions relating to the *Thakurain* are much older in Kangra than, in Kulu, owing probably to the fact that the *Ranas* were subjected at a much earlier period in the former than in the later. In Kulu they continued to maintain a Semi-independent existence till the reign of Raja Bahadur Singh, A.D. 1559. by whom most of them finally subdued. In the upper Ravi valley they lost their independence at a very early period, for we have the record of a feudatory chief, named Ashaha of Gun, as early as the reign of Meru Varma of Chamba (A.D. 680-700) whose *Samanta* or vassal he styles himself. In the lower Ravi valley and Pangri they were probably independent down to the tenth or eleventh when they became subject to Chamba. The *Thakurs* of Lahul were in ancient times subject to Tibet or Ladakh, but in the tenth or eleventh century those of the upper Chandrabhaga valley came under the control of Chamba. In Padar the *Ranas* ruled the country till the seventeenth century when they were displaced by Raja Chatar Singh of Chamba A.D. 1664-90 but it is probable that, from the twelfth century, they were dependent on Chamba. The *Thakurs* of middle Chandrabhaga valley retained their independence till a date later than the tenth century when the Kashtwar State was founded, while the *Ranas* of Bhadrawah seem to have been in power down to the sixteenth century. The local traditions current in the Chandra-Bhaga valley tell us that before the foundation of small kindoms the valley was parcelled among petty local rulers who bore the titles of *Rana* and *Thakur*. The popular traditions and folklore of the people make frequent reference to such chiefs. The title of *Rana* was in vogue in Nagsun and the side valleys of Surur and Bhonjwah, and tradition of their rule there is common. However, in the Chandrarbhaga valley the title of *Thakur* was in use, and the *Rajatarangini* bears several references to the *Thakuras* of the Chandrabhaga valley, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. No *Rana* tradition exists in this region. Kalhana

66. Barnes, *Kangra Settlement Report*, p. 74, para B.

states that two of these *Thakurs* supported Bhikshachara, grandson of Harsha, in his attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir. In Balaor (Vallapura) also the *Rana* tradition is popular, and it is stated that the founder of Balaur State, Bhog Pal, settled down at Balaur which was in the possession of a *Rana* named Billo, conquered the *Rana* with the help of his followers and founded a kingdom with his capital at Balaur which was named after Billo *Rana*. The foundation of Basohli, the later capital of the state, is also attributed to similar circumstances. A note in the *Vansavali* states that Raja Man-Shakya, eighth in succession from Bhog Pal, himself removed the capital from Balaur to Basohli after having killed a *Rana*, named Bisu, who was in possession of the place. This probably took place during the 11th century. Without entering into discussion about the historicity of the traditions of the founding of these two towns, we can conclude that the traditions strongly support the presence of *Rana* supremacy in Balaur-Basohli Hills before the advent of the Rajas, and at the same time these inform us about the persistence of *Rana* rule in some parts of the Hills long after the establishment of a kingdom.

Indeed, all through the hills traces are still to be found of the old order of things, and local tradition can often point to the sites of the *Rana's* forts, or recall stories of their exploits, and even define the boundaries of their territories. In the Chamba State there are several cases in which their descendants retained up to recent time possession of the whole or a part of the old family domain, and bore the old family title ; while many more who had sunk to the position of common cultivators were spoken of, and addressed as *Rana*. In Kulu "Many of the existing *Kothis* and *tappas* are said to have possessed their present limits from the day when formed the domain of a *Thakur*."⁶⁷ The same is probably true as regards some of the *parganas* of Chamba State, though judging from common tradition, the country would seem to have been more minutely subdivided than was the case in Kulu. In former times, however, these *parganas* were more numerous than at present, and may then have represented to a greater extent than they do now, the ancient limits of the old *Ranas*. Some of the state *Kothis* are said to stand on the very sites formerly occupied by the *Rana's* forts, and there is hardly a locality where the villagers cannot recall the place of residence of the local *Rana*, and can often point out the very site on which his house or fort formerly stood. In some cases in Chamba as at Mulkihar and Devi Kothi, the ruins are still visible, and in

67. Lyall, J.B., *Kulu Settlement Report*.

others, as at Kothir-Anhu, Sutker and Eol, the ancient buildings till recently were in actual use.

The baronies owned by these petty chiefs were called *Ranhu*, and were always of small extent often comprising only a few villages.

We know from literary sources that the kingdom of Kashmir, Trigarta and Kuluta existed and were ruled by Rajas, in the earliest period of which we have any cognizance. At the same time it is possible, and even probable that the remote and inaccessible valleys continued under the sway of *Ranas* and *Thakurs* who enjoyed practical independence. The duration of the *Apthakurai* period is a matter of doubt, but of this we are certain, that it came to an end sooner in some part of the hills than in others. It was followed by the rise of numerous Rajput principalities, which held dominion down to comparatively recent times. These were all founded by Rajput adventurers, who either came direct from the plains, or were descendants of one or other of the noble families which had already established themselves in the hills. By them the *Ranas* and *Thakurs* were reduced to the position of tributaries. Their subjection, however, seems to have been little more than nominal—the petty chiefs simply agreeing to acknowledge the supremacy of the local Raja, while they continued as before to rule their own baronies, wage war on one another, and generally act as if they were quite independent. Common tradition as well as the evidence of the *Vansavalis* and some of the slab inscriptions all point to this conclusion, and it was not for centuries that Rajas were able to establish anything like a real superiority over them.⁶⁸

We have now to trace the later history of those ancient “barons of the hills”. The reference to the *Ranas* and *Thakurs*, on the old copper-plate grants and slab inscriptions of Chamba, and in the record, of other states, prove that down to the twelfth century and even later, they had lost nothing of their ancient prestige. Till then, indeed, it seems to have been a policy of some of the Rajas to retain their allegiance by appointing them to high offices at the court and in the administration. The last Chamba copper plate deed, in which the *Ranas* are mentioned, is that of Raja Asata Varman A.D. 1080-1100. The next plate extant is that of Raja Bhot Varman, dated A.D. 1330, and in it all references to the *Ranas* have ceased. There is reason to believe that from the thirteenth century the petty chiefs all through the hills began to

68. *HPHS*, Vol. I, p. 65.

decline in influence, and to lapse into the condition of obscurity in which we now find them. The question arises as to what were the causes which brought about their downfall, and the later history of the *Damaras* of Kashmir, as we find it in the *Rajatarangini*, may perhaps suggest the answer. In the eleventh century the *Damaras*, during a long succession of weak reigns, had acquired so much political power that they had become a menace to the ruling house. King Harsh (A.D. 1081-1101), therefore, determined on their destruction and many of them were massacred.⁶⁹ The procedure, however, entirely failed of its object, and only resulted in a successful revolt which cost Harsha his throne and his life. "The reigns which followed this revolution represent an almost un-interrupted series of struggles between the central authorities and the *Damaras*, or between various factions of the latter themselves"⁷⁰ Down to the time of Kalhana the *Damaras* were still powerful, but there are few references to them in the later chronicles, and there can be little doubt that the struggle finally resulted in the complete suppression of these turbulent barons.

There is hardly a state in the hills which does not possess traditions of a similar conflict between the feudatory chiefs and their liegelords—the Raja.

For a long period after their subjection by the Rajas, the *Ranas* seem to have clung to the hope of regaining their independence and in almost everyone of the Hill states an attempt was made by them to drive out their new masters. In Kashtwar such an attempt took place in the beginning of the 13th century, when Raja Rai Dev was compelled by the rebellious Rotars or Rathis to flee from his capital and seek an asylum in the mountains; where he lived with a few followers for more than a year, before he was able to recover possession of the state. In Bhadrawah also tradition tells of a powerful combination of *Ranas* against Raja Bakht Pal as late as the sixteenth century and a decisive battle on the Chaugan near Dughanagar was fought in which the *Ranas* were defeated. From the Kulu chronicle we learn that the strife between the Rajas and their feudal vassals went on for centuries, till at last the *Thakurs* were finally subjected by Raja Bahadur Singh (A.D. 1559).

Obscure traditions of a similar state of things exist in Chamba and it seems probable that there too the *Ranas* were a source of

69. Stein, A.M., *Rajatarangini*, op, cit., Vol. II, pp. 304 ff.

70. *Ibid.*

danger, and safety was assured by their complete subjection. That some of them were almost independent of the Central authority may be conjectured from the wording of some of the slab inscriptions ; and local tradition has handed down many interesting and significant incidents which confirm this conjecture. One of these is worth recording. Before the conquest of the lower Ravi valley by Raja Sahila Varma of Brahmapura, the country in proximity to the present capital was ruled by a *Rana* who had his fort on the Bannu Hill overlooking the town, and separated from it by the Sal stream. From this *Rana* or one of his successors tribute was demanded by the new rulers, and this demand was persistently refused. The *Rana* in question may possibly be identical with a Rana Rihita, whose name, as also that of his Rani Balha, has been handed down by tradition. On being summoned to the presence of the Raja the *Rana* is said to have laid aside his insolent demeanour and meekly promised compliance with the Royal demand ; but on returning to the other side of the stream, he became as obstinate as ever. After consultation the conclusion was come to in explanation of this strange conduct, that it was due to the influence of the soil. To test this a quantity of earth was procured from Bannu Hill, and spread on the floor of the audience chamber with a carpet over it, and the *Rana* was again invited to an interview. On arrival he took his seat on the carpet as usual. But when in the course of conversation reference was made to the matter of tribute he sprang to his feet, drew his sword, and demanded to know who had a right to ask tribute of him. The result doubtless was his expulsion, or removal to another place where the soil did not exert this baneful influence. A similar tradition is found in Kulu, and other parts of the hills, and is significant of the state of tension which seems to have existed between the various chiefs and their overlords. That this tension resulted in open strife, and the complete subjection of the *Ranas* seems only too probable, and to this we may attribute the fact that at the present time so many of them have nothing but their title to prove their ancient lineage and the former importance of their families.⁷¹

“We must not, however, suppose that any of these states acquired its full territorial limits all at once. On the contrary, the records clearly show, that the early Rajas possessed little more than a footing in the country, and centuries of continuous warfare were required to consolidate their power. Chamba, for example,

71. *HPHS*, Vol. I, p. 67.

owned only the Brahmaur *paragana* of the state for several years. Kashtwar was practically confined originally to the small plain on which the capital stands, while Kulu held only the territory around Jagatsukh. It was doubtless much the same with all the other states. The result was, that the petty chiefs were not disposed to submit readily to an overlord, whose territory was not much larger than their own, and who was a foreigner among them. In almost every instance, as we shall see, they combined against him and made determined efforts to expel him from the hills."⁷²

After their subjection the *Rana* and *Thakurs* ranked as vassal chiefs under the *Rajas*, and they continued to hold at least upto the thirteenth century an important position in the administration. In the order of precedence the *Ranas* are mentioned after the *Rajas* and at the head of all the state officials. During the reign of Raja Soma-Varman (A.D. 1060-80) of Chamba two *Ranas*, named, Rihila and Kihila filled, respectively, the important offices of Prime Minister and great Record-keeper. It thus appears that the *Rajas* sought to attach these *samants* to their Court, and from turbulent chieftains to convert them into loyal and active nobles of the state.

Section 2

OFFSHOOTS AND SATELLITE STATES OF JAMMU

- I. MANKOT STATE**
- II. JASROTA STATE**
- III. LAKHANPUR STATE**
- IV. SAMBA STATE**
- V. BHAU OR SAHRAN STATE**
- VI. BHOTI STATE**
- VII. BANDRALTA STATE**
- VIII. RIASI STATE**
- IX. AKHNUR STATE**
- X. CHANEHNI STATE**

Mankot (Ramkot) State

Mankot, now known as Ramkot (Lat, 33°-38' and Long. 74°-6'), situated in the Dansal Dun on the right bank of the Mandal stream in the Jasrota region of Jammu, was a small state, fifteen miles long and ten miles wide, bounded on the west by Jammu, on the south-west by Bhoti, on the north by Bandralta, on the east by Bhadu and Basohli and on the south by the Karai-dhar range, separating it from Samba and Jasrota¹. Its capital, Mankot, later re-named Ramkot by Raja Suchet Singh (1822-1843) was founded by Raja Manak Dev, who was a contemporary of Raja Narsingh Dev of Jammu², who ruled about A.D. 1272-1314³. It is a "village which stands on an eminence partially skirted by a small river⁴". "There is a large fort, which *had* been

1. Archer, W.G. *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1973, Vol. I, p. 368 ; Randhawa, M.S. *Basohli Painting*, the Publication Division, New Delhi, 1959, p. 24 ; HPHS, V-: II, p. 565.
2. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab* (Urdu), Vol. I, Jammu, 1912. p. 369 ; Naingh Das Nargis : *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des Jammu*. January, 1967, p. 223.
3. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulabnama* (Eng. Tr.), p. 1800.
4. Forster, G., *A Journey from Bangal to England*, London 1808, Vol. I, p. 273. Describes a halt at Mankot in 1783.

handed over to the Maharaja's new son-in-law (from Jaswan) for a dwelling place⁵. The former place is now in ruins but in its heyday it must have been a vast fortress, straddling the ridge, two to three storeys high and commanding airy view up and down the valley across to the hills the other side. The ruins *are* riddled with walls and stairs. Below the main palace a little to the north-west *is* another building, perhaps erected somewhat later and possibly intended to replace it. Both *are* now in total ruin⁶. This was for long the seat of an ancient ruling family, an offshoot of the Jammu royal house, like those of Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Bhoti, Tirikot, Samba and Bhau.

According to family tradition the principality was founded by Kharan Dev son of Raja Bhoj Dev of Jammu who fell in A.D. 93 while fighting for Jai Pal Shahi against Amir Sabuktigin of Ghazni. Kharan Dev, the eldest brother, gave up his claim to the 'gaddi' of Jammu in favour of his younger brother, Raja Avtar Dev, and retired to the mountain village Banerh founded in A.D. 805, by Raja Bajarla Dhar of Jammu. There he established his principality, extended his sway upto Sruinsar and Mansar, and named his kingdom Babbargarh or Babbapur after the name of his son⁷. Thus this principality probably inherits the antecedent of the ancient Dogra kingdom of Babbapura which finds mention in *Rajatarangini* in connection with events of the late eleventh century when Kirti was the ruler of Babbapura⁸. This ruler of Babbapura visited the court of King Kalsa of Kashmir in the year 1087-8 A.D.⁹. Again, another 'Lord of Babbapura' has been mentioned in connection with events of Sussala's reign who ruled in Kashmir from A.D. 1112-20¹⁰.

On both these occasions Babbapura has been mentioned in combination with Champa (Chamba) Vallapura (Balawar), and Trigarta (Kangra). This topographical indication points to the presence of Babbapura in the fringe of Siwalik belt spreading from Kangra to Urusa and Rajapuri, the last named States also finding mention in connection with events detailed in viii. 537-41. In this chain of States all other names, except Babbapura have been identified with the names of principalities which even exist to this

5. Drew, F. : *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* London, 1875, p. 85.

6. Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Panjab Hills*, op. cit. p. 368.

7. Kahan Singh Balaoria : *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu-W Kashmir*, p. 59.

Naringh Das Nargis : *Tarikh-i-DograDes*, op. cit., p. 223.

8. Stein, M.A. : *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Eng. Tr. Bk. VII, verses 588-90.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.* Bk. VIII, verses 537-41.

day. The geographical tract between the Ravi and the Chinab remains unrepresented except only if it is covered by Babbapura, which identification can be upheld when we realise that an historical spot known as 'Babor', about 17 miles to the east of Jammu, is only an abbreviation of Babbapura, in the same manner as Vallapura and Brahmapura have changed into Balaor and Brahmor respectively. Babor was a former capital of Jammu State seems probable considering its antiquities. Seven ancient temples have been excavated there, one of which bears an illegible inscription in the Sarda Characters of the 9th or 10th century. "The situation of the place, its extent and ancient remains, and especially the name by which it is still known, all point to the conclusion that it represents the ancient Babbapura¹¹."

The *Rajatarangini* mentions, another name of a State as 'Nilapura' where, in Verse 582 of the book vii it has 'Kirtiraja, lord of Nilapura'. Stein identifies Kirtiraja with Kirti of Babbapura¹². Kalhana twice mentions a locality called 'Bappanila'¹³ which looks like a combination of the two names. It is not possible to surmise if Nilapura is synonymous with Babbapura, though many ancient capitals in India were known by more than one names.

Thus Babbapura was a considerable locality during the 9th and 10th centuries and was the capital of the Durgara State. The 'Lord of Durgara' mentioned in the Chamba copper-plate inscription, ruled at Babbapura. The capital of the State was probably shifted to Jammu in about 1380 A.D.

From the *Rajatarangini* we have learnt about two hill chiefs of Babbapura, the first was Kirti who was contemporary with Kalasa, ruler of Kashmir from 1063 to 1089 A.D. ; and other chief was "Vajradhara of Babbapura" who was one of the five princes who fell in with Bhikshachara, great grandson of Kalasa, during a pilgrimage to Kurukshetra, and they acknowledged his claim to the throne of Kashmir¹⁴. This happened during Sussal's reign who ruled between 1112 and 1120 A.D. possibly Umadhara who was in alliance with King Harsha of Kashmir, son of Kalasa, in 1101 A.D., was a chief of Babbapura¹⁵,

11. Hutchison and Vogel, *HPHS*, p. 516.

12. Stein, M.A., *op. cit.* Bk. VII, verse 582.

13. *Ibid.* Bk. VII, verses 582 and 588.

14. *Ibid.*, verses 588-90.

15. Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr, Bk. VII, verse 1512-13.

On inspection of the Dogra genealogy as preserved in the State Archives, Jammu and recorded in the *Gulabnama*¹⁶ and *Rajdarshani*¹⁷ we find two Rajas bearing names similar to those given in the *Rajatarangini*. The first is Kirtidhar, and the other Vajarladhar. These are separated by two rulers in between, whose reigns may have been very short. These two rulers of Jammu State may be identified with those mentioned in *Rajatarangini*. The Jammu genealogy makes Vajraladhar the founder of Babbapura. Although the genealogy places them much before Raja Bhoj Dev of Jammu¹⁸, a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazani, but the testimony of Kalhana cannot be taken lightly as he was almost contemporary with the persons involved in events which he describes to have happened between 1087 and 1120 A.D.

The ruling family is an offshoot from Jammu. They claim descent from Raja Bhoj or Bhuj Dev of Jammu, who succeeded to the throne in V.S. 969 (A.D. 912) and died while fighting on the side of Jaipal Sahi against Sabuktigin probably in the battle of Sakawand fought in 982-83 A.D.¹⁹ He had from one wife a son named Karan or Kharan Dev, and from second wife three sons named Avtar Dev, Kharak Dev and Pehlad Dev.²⁰ In order to avoid a show-down between the step-brothers Bhoj Dev seems to have divided his kingdom. Karan Dev was installed as ruler of the eastern portion with his headquarters at Banehr in the territory of Garh Babaor which had been founded by Raja Bajar Dhar in the middle of eighth century.²¹ This small state in the Dansal Dun was thus founded in the third quarter of the tenth century and it inherited the antecedents of the great cultural centre of Babbapura (or Babaor), which found several references in the *Rajatarangini*.²² It maintained the tradition, and was the first among the hill states to develop a distinct school of Pahari miniatures.

Karan Dev thus became the founder of the State which afterwards came to be called Mankot. According to *Rajdarshani* he was followed on the *gaddi* by Bir Dev, *Kabu* or *Kalu Dev*, Ahal

16. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulabnama*, Eng. tr., p. 62.

17. *Rajdarshani* SPM, folios, 107 a, 107 b.

18. Stein, M.A., *op. cit.*, Bk. VII, 582, 588, 590 n.j. Bk. VIII, 538, 625.

19. Kahan Singh, Thakur : *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab*, Vol. I, Jammu, 1912, p. 369, gives *Bikrami* year 1032. The year A.D. 1150 for Bhoj Dev's rule given by the authors of *HPHS*, p. 565, is not acceptable as being unscientific and unhistorical.

20. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 109 b.

21. *Ibid*, fol. 107.

22. Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Bk.-vii, verses 588—59 on ; Bk. viii, verse 538.

Dev, Manak Dev, Udey Dev, Nagar Dev, Uttam Dev, Hari Chandra Dev, *Amal Dev*, Kailash Dev, *Bhum Dev*, *Narbar Dev*, Pratap Dev, Arjun Dev, Shital Dev, *Thota Dev*, Trehati (Trehdi) Dev, Ajmat Dev, Dalel Singh and Chatar Dev.²³ The name of Mahipat Dev, successor of Shital Dev has been omitted by mistake. His existence has been known from a few portraits of this Raja done in the early Pahari style.²⁴ Thus there were twenty-three rulers, from its founder to Raja Prab or Purab Singh, the successor of Chhatar Singh, and the last ruler, till its extinction in 1825.

Karan Dev's successor was Bir-Dev who left his small principality to his son Kalu Dev, also called Kirpal Dev who was tributary of Raja Chak Dev of Jammu. Kirpal was succeeded by Ahal Dev and Manak Dev, one after the other. Manak Dev, a contemporary and vassal of Raja Narsing Dev of Jammu, seems to be an eminent ruler. He conquered some villages near the present town of Ramkot and extended the boundaries of his kingdom upto the Talhan torrent in the east and upto Mansar-chani in the west, subduing a number of petty chiefs, called *Ranas*. He laid the foundation of a new capital and built a fort, which he named Mankot after his own name. The original name was probably, Manak-kot, which in time became corrupted to Mankot.²⁵ He also threw off the yoke of the supremacy of Jammu for a while and became independent. This took place probably in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. From his days the State came to be called Mankot, and his descendants got the clan name 'Mankotia.'

Manak Dev was followed by his son Udey Dev, and the latter by Naurang Dev, Udyam or Uttam Dev, Hari Chand, Aimal Dev and Kalas Dev, in succession. The last named ruler was contemporary of Raja Ajeo Dev (AD. 1423—1454) of Jammu. Two other insignificant rulers came to the *gaddi* of Mankot before Pratap Dev ascended the throne. He was contemporary of Raja Kapur Dev (1530—1571 A.D.) of Jammu, with whom he had amicable relations. They had bound themselves in filial relationship by mutually exchanging turbans.²⁶ He probably ruled up to 1600 A.D. He is the only ruler of Mankot whose name finds reference in the Persian works *Akbarnamah* and *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*. He has been

23. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 110a.

24. W.G. Archer: *Pahari Miniatures A Concise History*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1975, plate No. 5.

25. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 565.

26. Nargis, Narsing Das, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, p. 224.

referred to in the *Ma'asir-ul Umara* as "Rai Partap of Mankot."²⁷ The *Rajdarshani* also records an interesting anecdote about "Raja Partap Dev Rai." It States that Mirza Kamran, after being dislocated from Kabul by Humayun had sought shelter with Islam Shah Sur. But suspecting a foul play by the Afghan ruler, Kamran escaped to the court of Jammu. Raja Kapur Dev sent him to the protection of Raja Partap Dev of Mankot. The Mirza whiled away his time in hunting in the company of the Raja. One day they stood near a very high *Snober* tree. The Mirza shot his arrow which struck the highest branch of the tree and got stuck there. The Mirza said, whosoever brings the arrow down would be rewarded ten rupees. The Raja left his horse, ascended the tree and restored the arrow to Mirza. Kamran, who besides giving him the promised amount, bestowed a *khilat* also on the Raja.²⁸ But reflected that a person who could stake his life for a paltry prize, could surrender him to the enemy for a bigger reward. He left Mankot forth with and sought refuge with Adam Khokhar who, however, lost no opportunity in surrendering him to Humayun. Probably Kamran had no idea of a Rajput's fidelity to his commitments.

The *Ma'asirul Umara* mentions Rai Partap of Mankot in the time of Akbar in connection with the revolt of Hill chiefs of states from Jammu upto Kangra in A.D. 1588-89, and he was one of the thirteen hill chiefs who accompanied Zain Khan Koka to the court to make their submission and present valuable presents.²⁹

In A.D. 1594-5 another serious outbreak took place, led by Jamwal Chiefs Dange Man and Lal Dev of Jammu,³⁰ who were later joined by Raja Partap of Mankot and Raja Bhabhu of Jasrota. The outbreak was suppressed by a Mughal army under Shaikh Farid which occupied Jammu, and marched thence to Jaswan over running the country and reducing the hill Chiefs to submission.³¹ Akbar seems to have been reconciled to Partap Dev who seems to have won the entire confidence of the Mughal Emperor who deputed him to arbitrate in the dispute of succession between Kapur Dev's son Samail Dev, and Kapur Dev's grandson, Parasram Dev (son of Jag Dev). Akbar divided Jammu kingdom

27. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, RASB, edn., Vol. II, p. 367.

28. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 166a.

29. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. II, p. 367 ; *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fols. 182—83.

30. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, (MS), p. 40.

31. *Akbarnama*, HIED, Vol. VI, p. 125 ; *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 184 a ; *Tarikh-i Jammu*, pp. 40—47.

among the disputants on the advice of Raja Partap Dev.³² Pratap ruled for forty years. He was followed by Arjan Dev. Mankot seems to have progressed much under the democratic rule of Pratap Dev's grandson Sital Dev (c. 1630—1650), the blind Raja. He is reported to have set up *Panchayat* rule in all his villages and is also credited to have established central *Panchayat* at his capital.³³ He continued his direct relations with the Mughal court and was tributary to Shah Jahan (1628—1658).³⁴ He was a man of religious propensity which was inherited by his son and successor, Mahipat Dev (C. 1650—C. 1680) who was the first Mankot ruler to be portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, and conceivably the chief factor in introducing ardent Vaishnavism into Mankot State.

Tedhi or Tredhi Singh was the next Mankotia Chief of importance who ruled from about A.D. 1700 to 1730. Kahan Singh³⁵ makes him contemporary of Raja Dhruv Dev (C. 1710—C. 1732) of Jammu, and states that he had been granted Mahal Mori as a *jagir* by the Emperor Aurangzeb for bravery in a battle which *jagir* he held for many years. Tedhi Singh may have been still alive in 1745 when he is named with Raja Ajib Singh of Jaswan and 'other chieftains' as tendering submission to the Mughal Viceroy, Adina Beg Khan, during the latter's triumphal march through the Hills.³⁶ But in his later years he seems to have left the administration of the State to his son Azmat Dev who may have acted for him after 1730, while Tedhi "engaged in positive acts of worship."³⁷

It is reported that Aurangzeb had conferred on him a *mansab* of two thousand, and as a reward for a successful military expedition he had received the *jagir* of Mahal Mori in Kangra from the same emperor.³⁸

Tedhi Singh's son and successor, Azmat Dev, was contemporary of and tributary to Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu. He administered the Mankot State on behalf of his father from C. 1730 to about 1750. He seems to have ruled upto A.D. 1765. Mankot

32. Narsing Das Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, p. 224.

33. Narsing Das Nargis : *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, op. cit., p. 225.

34. Archer, W.G. : *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, op. cit., p. 368.

35. Kahan Singh, Thakurs : *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab*, Jammu, 1912, Vol. I, p. 370.

36. Man Mohan : *The History of Mandi State*, Lahore, 1930, p. 67.

37. W.G. Archer : *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, op. cit., p. 369.

38. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab*, Jammu, 1912, Vol. I, p. 370.

State had probably become tributary to Ranjit Dev as early as 1747 when the ambitious Raja of Jammu extended the Dogra kingdom on all sides, and in collaboration with Ahmad Shah Durrani, sought to establish his supremacy over all the Hill States situated between the Jehlam and Beas. Raja Azmad Dev also accompanied Prince Brijraj Dev with his contingent and played an important part in the Dogra expedition against Raja Ghammand Chand of Kangra.³⁹ In that capacity he finds mention in the *Brijraj Panchasika* and the *Gulebnemas*.⁴⁰

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the State had come under the control of Jammu more directly than it had previously been. In 1783, Forster passed through Mankot, and though he gives no details of his visit, he observed with interest that "a chief dependent on Jammu" resided there.⁴¹

On Ranjit Dev's death, Raja Azmat Dev eschewed allegiance to Jammu and became independent, but soon after died of a fall from the horse. After him his son and grandson, Dalel Singh and Chhatar Singh, ruled the principality. But the fortunes of Mankot were now on the decline. How far the Sikhs succeeded in penetrating the State after subverting Jammu after the death of Brijraj Dev in 1787, is uncertain, as it was in the interior of the hills and so more out of reach of their marauding bands.⁴² However, the State came under Maharaja Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, and was annexed to the Lahore kingdom in 1820. Its very existence was threatened by the rising star of the Dogra Trio. Gulab Singh had already subdued most of the smaller states, and when the Raj of Bandralta was conferred on Raja Suchet Singh in 1822, Mankot became the next target of their ambition. In 1825 Gulab Singh wrote to Suchet Singh to occupy Mankot as soon as possible, and the latter sent his *Wazir*, Rai Kesari Singh to effect the conquest of the principality. The *Wazir* attacked Mankot and the Raja submitted without offering any resistance. But Chhattar Singh was driven out of the principality which was annexed to the jagirs of the Dogra trio. It was conferred as a fief on Raja Suchet Singh of Jammu along with Bandralta, Samba and probably Bhadu. He changed the name of Mankot to Ramkot in 1825 and the territory is known by the latter name since then. Kesari Singh used to administer the territory for Suchet Singh. On the death of Suchet

39. *Brijraj Panchasika*, verse 8. see Appendix Vol. IV.

40. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*

41. Forster, George ;

42. *HPHS*, Vol II, p. 566.

Singh and Rai Kesari Singh in 1844 the territory was merged with Jammu. Raja Chhatar Singh migrated to Kangra district where he was given an annual jagir of five thousand rupees in Guler by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After the first Sikh War, Mankot became an integral part of the hill territory transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and a pension was assigned to the Mankotia family, and they fixed their residence at Salangari in Kulehr, then in Kangra District.⁴³ The last ruling Chief of the line to exercise any power was Raja Purab Singh who did his best to get Mankot restored to him but could not succeed, and the British Government sanctioned an annual cash pension of fifteen hundred rupees to the dispossessed Mankotia family. Raja Purab Singh died in 1867 A.D. After him the title of Raja was conferred on his son Jagdish Singh and after his death, on Purab Singh's second son, Balvir Singh, who served the British Government as officer in the 13th Bengal Cavalry, and rendered distinguished service in the Afghan War and also in Egypt.⁴⁴

43. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 566.

44. *Ibid* ; Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

Jasrota State

Jasrota was an important and powerful State, spreading during the heyday of its power from about the present Hiranagar to the western bank of the Ravi, a distance of over thirty kilometers, in the outer ranges of the Siwaliks. Its capital Jasrota was situated on the outer spur of a wooded Range on the western bank of the Ujh river, a tributary of the Ravi. On the north it was bounded by the Karaidhar Range of the Siwaliks which separated it from Mankot, Bhadu and Basohli States. To the south of it lay the level and expansive plains of the Punjab a fringe of which formed the southern and fertile portion of the State irrigated by *kuhls* (water-ducts) from the Ujh and the Ravi. Owing to the fertility of the tract in the plains Jasrota under its own rulers was a powerful State which vied with Jammu in importance down to the time of its extinction in 1834 when it was given as jagir to Raja Hira Singh, the nephew of Gulab Singh. Samba, a small State, verged on its west. When during the 14th century it became divided, it remained confined to the west of the Ujh while its eastern portion between the Ujh and the Ravi became separate State of Lakhanpur.

During the later part of the nineteenth century Jasrota had been reduced to a small town. It was built on a hill, on the right

bank of the Ujh stream, an affluent of the Ravi. The hill on which the Raja's house was situated, was ornamented with four small towers; a huge irregular arch led to the paltry bazar to the Raja's residence. At present only a few crumbling walls stand as insufficient evidence of the former grandeur of the town when it vied with Jammu. There is also a large and deep stone-paved tank, all overgrown with wild trees and undergrowth.

Another old site in Jasrota was the fort of Jasmergarh, situated between the Tarna and Bey Nalas. The present ruined fort was chiefly built by Raja Lal Dev between A.D. 1814 and 1830 and put into thorough repair and strengthened by Raja Hira Singh. At the same time the village was removed to a new site about a mile distant, called Hira Nagar. The fort was a large square edifice, with a broken ground around it and only slightly higher than the neighbouring tillas. It had one large *deodhi* or gateway towards south, and within, the space is empty, except a row of brick built dwelling cells and store-rooms under the ramparts all round, except on the east and south-east side. At the north-east corner was a very deep and fine well, built all over of brick and having a good supply of water. The fort was built of brick. Later it was converted into *tehsil* civil and police headquarters and most of its buildings were readjusted to serve as quarters for officers and policemen and *kutchehri* and treasury. It held that status till recently when government establishments were shifted to newly built buildings in Hira Nagar town.

Jammu royal family gave off about nine offshoots which in past time ruled over separate autonomous States bound to Jammu by ties of kinships and of these Jasrota was positively one of the oldest being founded during the eleventh century. Till the beginning of the thirteenth century the parent State remained undivided, though we may assume that its rule was of a loose character in tracts distant from the centre of power, where the petty chiefs named *Rana* or *Thakur* still held sway. About that time Raja Bhuj Dev ruled in Jammu. He had four sons of whom the eldest was the ancestor of the Mankotia family, the second son became Raja of Jammu and the third, named Karan Dev, retired to the outer hills where Jasrota now stands, and probably conquered a small tract from the *Ranas*. There he settled and became the head of a new State, of which one of his successors made Jasrota the capital.¹ The town had previously been founded by Jas Dev, the Raja of Jammu, and grand son of Bhuj Dev. From their capital

1. H.P.H.S., p. 567.

the ruling family adopted the clan name of Jasrotia, in accordance with the custom of the Hill States,

We may assume that the State was founded about the beginning of the thirteenth century² (c.A.D. 1200) and there were, according to the vernacular history, twenty-seven chiefs down to 1834. Of the early history of the State we know nothing but the names of the Rajas who held power. These were Karan Dev, Bir Dev, Kalu Dev, Amil Dev, Balar Dev ; Kalas Dev and Pratap Dev. In about A.D. 1250 when Pratap Dev became the Raja of Jasrota, his younger brother, Sangram Dev, revolted against him. The neighbouring Rajas brought about a reconciliation and the elder brother agreed to give him the territory lying between the Ujh and the Ravi, which the latter formed into a separate principality. The capital of the new State was at Lakhanpur. A fort was erected at Lakhanpur as the residence of the Raja, and the State took its name from its capital. Another fort was erected at Thain on a cliff over looking the Ravi, and as the Rajas seem to have resided frequently there, the State is sometimes referred to as Thain in the contemporaneous records. The ruins of these two forts may still be seen.

After Pratap Dev followed Jatar Dev ; Atar or Atal Dev ; Sultan Dev ; Jagat Dev ; Daulat Dev and Bhabu Dev. Of these we have no records till the reign of Bhabu Dev, who figures prominently in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-89 and 1594-45 in the time of Akbar. It is the only earliest historical mention of Jasrota in connection with the expedition of Zain Khan Koka, in the 35th year of Akbar, A.D. 1589-90, when Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur joined, along with Rai Partap of Jasrota and Raja Paras Ram of Jammu hills³, a revolt of hill rajas. This revolt became serious and several conquering forces had to be sent against them. Soon other hill chiefs also joined it and it turned into a formidable rebellion led by Raja Bidhi Chand of Kangra, who had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1585.

2. Narsing Das Nargis, '*Tarikh-i-Dogra Des.*' (Urdu), Jammu, 1967, p. 211, gives the date of the foundation of town Jasrota as A.D. 1019, but he has quoted no source. He states that Raja Aimal Dev ascended the gaddi of Jasrota in A.D. 1143 and this raja was among the 588 chiefs who fought on the side of Prithvi Raj Chauhan, in company with Raja Brij Dev of Jammu (Ibid, p. 212). Raja Brij Dev ruled at Jammu C. 1164—1215 A.D., Cf. G. C. Smyth, p. 231 ; Charak, Gulabnana ; 18 n.
3. *Akbarnama*, in *Elliot's History of India*, rep. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1969, Vol vi, p. 125, *Ma'asirul-Umra* of Shah Nawaz Khan, Eng. tr. by Henry Beveridge, Calcutta, 1911-14, Vol. ii, p. 1026.

Akbar sent strong force to suppress the revolt under his foster-brother Zain Khan Koka. He entered the hills at Paithan (Pathankot) and advanced eastward to the Satluj and had successfully concluded the campaign. He was accompanied to court by thirteen of the hill chiefs, bearing valuable presents, who tendered their submission to the Emperor. Among these we find the name of "Rai Bhabu Buzurg of Jasrota."⁴ That the confederation was a powerful one is shown by the fact that they had an aggregate of 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen⁵.

The subjugation of these Hill States however, was not effective, and we read of another, revolt more formidable in character, in the 41st year of Akbar, *i.e.*, in 1596-97 A.D., led this time by Raja Bhabu of Jasrota. On this occasion also several principalities, both east and west of the Ravi, were involved. A Mughal army under Mirza Rustam Qandahari was first sent to operate against the eastern states, especially Nurpur, and its Raja Basu was besieged in the fort of Mankot for three months, and on surrender was sent to Lahore. Another army, commanded by Shaikh Farid, had advanced about the same time against Jammu. After the capture of Jammu, Ramgarh and other strongholds the Mughal army advanced eastward by Samba, where Balbhadar, the Raja of Lakhanpur, and Bhabu, the Raja of Jasrota came in and surrendered. Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu also came and tendered his submission. Although Bhabu had surrendered, but when the Mughal army advanced towards Jasrota, his sons and relatives fiercely opposed and there was much fighting which has been described in the Akbarnamah in the following words :

"On reaching Samba, Bhabu the Raja of Jasruna (Jasrota) and Balidar (Balabhadar) the *Zamindar* of Lakhanpur came in. This Bhabu had been the leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife. Next day Suraj-Singh (Suraj-Mal), son of Basu, the Raja of Mau (Nurpur), came in and made his allegiance and he was placed in charge of Husain Beg Shaikh Umari, until it should be determined by the Emperor how the *Parganas* of Samba and Jasruna should be disposed of. Two *kos* from Samba a fort was built and Muhammad Khan Turkoman was sent forward to take charge of Lakhanpur."

"The army next proceeded to the village of Aliya where Bhabu was, and there encamped. This is a strong place surrounded on all sides by jungle so dense that it was difficult to pass through

4 *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II. Page 367.

5. *H.P.H.S.* P. 568.

it. Hither the rebels and fugitives fled and hid, deeming themselves safe from all pursuit. Shaikh Farid stayed for some days at that village, and gave orders for clearing away the jungle by axe and by fire. The soldiers were engaged in the work for several days, but were unable to clear away more than a road of twenty or thirty yards wide. Several of the old trees that were fit for building purposes were cut down and sent to Lahore, for use in the government buildings. Bhabu before mentioned had been the chief and most active of the rebels, and he had done an immense deal of harm. A royal order had been given that no effort should be spared to capture him. Now that he was in the hands of the army, it was determined to send him to the Emperor in charge of Ali Muhammad."

"When the army reached Jasruna (Jasrota)—the native place of Bhabu—his sons and brethren and friends gathered together and took up a strong position at a small fort on a hill. This hill was covered with jungle from top to bottom with only one narrow way along which one or two horsemen might pass. On each side of this road there was a wall with loopholes through which muskets could be fired, and arrows shot upon strangers and foes, to prevent their approach."

"At the bottom of the hill on the level ground there was a cultivated tract in which there was a fort with moats. Shaikh Farid, when he perceived these hostile preparations, determined to capture the place and punish the rebels. He first sent forward Husain Beg to attack the lower fort. By great exertion the moat was filled, the gates burst open and the fort was taken. Several of the assailants were killed by wounds from gun shots and arrows. Then the troops entered the jungle to attack the upper fort. The enemy hotly disputed the passage through the jungle with their muskets and bows. But the valiant soldiers returned the fire and pressed on till they reached the gate. Then they set fire to the place, and the rebels fled for refuge into the jungle. All the buildings and crops were burnt."

"Husain Beg halted here and sent intelligence of his success to Shaikh Farid. An answer was returned directing him to fortify the place and stay there the night, or to leave a detachment and himself rejoin the main force. It was late in the day, the army was two *kos* distant, the way through the jungle was narrow and difficult, and the returning force might be attacked at great disadvantage, so Husain Beg resolved to rest for the night and to make his way back in the morning. All night long the enemy harassed them from all parts of the jungle with arrows, but according to

the plan agreed upon, each man sat behind his breastwork (*morchal*) with his shield over his head, never moving or making a noise. The night was thus passed mid a constant rain of arrows, but in the morning the forces made their way through the jungle and effected their junction safely. Husain Beg obtained great praise for his gallantry, and rewards in *inams*, money and robes were bestowed upon the officers and soldiers.”⁶

Jasrota was thus conquered by the Mughals along with other States of the Dugar. The state seems to have been restored to the Raja as tributary of the Mughal Emperor. Lakhanpur, we are told, was made over in jagir to one of the Mughal officers. After the final subjection of the Hill States by Akbar, the States of the Jammu or Dugar area, between the Chenab and the Ravi, seem to have settled down into quiet submission, and we read of no more revolts among them in the histories of the time.⁷ On the other hand the chiefs of the Jammu hills were found on the side of the Mughal armies when revolts in the Kangra area occurred, as for instance in the case of Kangra and Nurpur in the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. The Rajas of Dogra States helped the Mughals in restoring order in the Kangra Hill principalities.

The Rajas who came after Bhabu Dev (c. 1580—c. 1600) were Bhuj Dev, Fateh Dev, Tej Dev, Shiv Dev, Sikh or Sukh Dev and Dhruv Dev, but of the events of their time we possess no records.⁸

Only conjectural dates can be assigned to these reigns, c. 1650 to c. 1670 to Shiv Dev, and c. 1670 to c. 1685 to his successor Jag Dev, who had two sons, Sikh (Sukh Dev) and Bhupal Dev. On the evidence of portraits, Bhupal Dev seems to be a close associate of Anand Dev (c. 1690-1715) of Bahu (Jammu) for whom he may have acted as *Wazir* or Chief Minister.⁹ Sukh Dev probably ruled from 1685 to 1715. He was followed on the gaddi by his son Dhruv Dev (c. 1710-1730). He was born in 1680. On the evidence of portraits¹⁰ it can be conjectured that he abandoned administration at an early stage in favour of the religious life. He

6. *Akbar nama*, Ellist and Dowson, History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 126-28.

7. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 571.

8. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu-e-Kas'mir*, 1925 p. 63 ; *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 5712, Narsing Dass Nargis, op. cit., p. 213.

9. Cf. W.G. Archer's *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, New Delhi, 1973, Vol. II, Fig 4 (i) Jammu and Fig 3, Jasrota. (Chandigarh Museum, Jasrota c. 1750).

10. *Ibid*, Fig 3 (Jammu), and Fig 1, Jasrota.

is shown in portraits with Vaishnava *tilak* marks and wearing or holding rosaries.¹¹ But in popular tradition he is described as a great and just ruler who built new Jasrota to rival with Jammu. He is also said to have fought a bloody battle with Raja Kripal Dev of Bahu over a boundary dispute in which almost all the Chiefs of the Dugar participated.¹²

For some time past Jammu and Bahu had been separated and formed into States independent of each other. The principalities east of the Tawi including Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Basohli, Bhadu, Sambarta and Ramkot were subject to Bahu. This subjection, however, seems to have been very loose and there were frequent internecine struggles and disputes with the Bahu rulers. One such dispute was fomented by Mian Nath, disaffected minister of Raja Kirpal Dev of Bahu who had left him and taken refuge at the Jasrota court. On instigation by him Dhruv Dev absented himself from Kirpal Dev's annual *darbar*. The former, therefore, invaded Jasrota. In the fight near the village Jandi, Mian Nath played a prominent role in killing Bahu warriors like Abja Brahman, Dholu Mankotia, Kahra, Darman and Samdanu Ramgarhia. One Sahbu and Amar Singh Jandrahia were also killed in the battle.¹³ Although peace was at last contracted but the power of Bahu was broken and this State was soon over-turned by Ranjit Dev.

Jasrota played an important role in Jammu affairs in the next two reigns—Kirpal or Kirat Dev (1735-1766) and Ratan Dev (1766-1780), both of whom were contemporaries of Ranjit Dev. Ghansar Dev, regent of Jammu temporarily withdrew to Jasrota in 1747 on the return of his elder brother, Ranjit Dev, from confinement in Lahore, as stated earlier. Balwant Singh, the youngest brother of Ranjit Dev, had also established his residence at Jasrota. The chiefs of Jasrota served Jammu Court as Ministers and advisers. The offended heir-apparent of Jammu, Brijraj, also withdrew to Jasrota for sometime and probably encouraged a revolt there which was successfully suppressed by Dalel Singh. Jasrota had become subordinate to Jammu at least from the days of Rajas Gajai Dev and Dhruv Dev of Jammu. Kirat Dev and Ratan Dev remained

11. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 214.

12. Narsing Das Nargis, *op. cit.*, p. 215

13. Balauria, Th. Kahan Singh, *Tract No. I* on Bahadur Nath's Oath, in Urdu, Puv. S. 1974 (A.D. 1917). A ballad was also popular in the Duggar on this affair.

tributary to Jammu. The latter Raja aided Jammu against Kangra and Nurpur.¹⁴

Of States with which Jasrota was involved Jammu and Basohli were clearly the most important. As its parent state, Jammu had a special relationship with Jasrota and this was enhanced in much of the 18th century when Jammu became the paramount power in the western hills. Jammu princes can be assumed therefore to have been frequent visitors to Jasrota and at least two, Ghansar Dev and Balwant Singh (senior) appear to have maintained separate establishments there. Jasrota nobles, for their part, were regular attendants at the Jammu Court and may also at times, have held office in the Jammu administration. As a powerful neighbour with its own school of painting in the 18th century Jammu could thus have been a major influence on local painting at Jasrota.¹⁵

It seems that on the decline of Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752, Jasrota, like many other hill States, became subject to Jammu. During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Dev Jasrota particularly played a subordinate role and developed very close political and social relations with the court of Jammu. In the latter part of the century the Sikh *misaldars* began their plundering raids into the hills. They invaded Chamba in 1774 and Basohli in 1783, and Jasrota may also have been invaded about the same time, or even earlier as it lay so close to the plains and near the territories of the Punjab where Kanheya Sardars were particularly active and as they had established their headquarter at Pathankot, they were the first to enter the State and wrest tribute from time to time.

The days of prosperity for Jasrota, however, ended with the commencement of Sikh infiltration in hills which saw its beginning during the reign of Raja Ratan Dev. But after him Sikh inroads and influence increased as a result of the weakening of the power and control of Jammu. Bhao Singh, 1780-1790, son and successor of Ratan Dev continued professing submission to Jammu, as is revealed by a portrait in Guildford collection in which Bhao Singh, aged about 30, is shown kneeling before Brijraj Dev,¹⁶ ruler of

14. Gulab., Eng. Tr., W. G. Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 214 ; Narsing Dass Nargis, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

15. Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Delhi, 1973, Vol. I, p. 215.

16. *Ibid.*

Jammu from April 1783 to June 1787. In the midst of chaos and disorder attendant on the bolder plundering raids of Sikhs, Ajab Dev (c. 1790-1800) and Lal Dev (c. 1800-1805) maintained some semblance of their autonomous principality which was soon to be eclipsed under the next reign, of Lal Dev's son, Randhir Singh. Lal Dev seems to have abdicated in favour of his son only after a few years of rule, in about 1805. He was, however, one of the witnesses to the '*Iqrarnama*' executed by Raja Jit Singh of Jammu in 1822 in favour of Gulab Singh and his brothers, on which Lal Dev's attestation exists.¹⁷

Randhir Singh was Raja of Jasrota from 1805 to 1820. Ranjit Singh had become a powerful Chief of the Punjab and in the early part of his rule Randhir Singh had to face raids of his armies. Ultimately Jasrota became tributary to Ranjit Singh in 1808 and along with Basohli, Mankot and Bhadu was supervised by Desa Singh Majithia, the Sikh Governor of Kangra Hills.² Randhir Singh died without a male heir, so his brother Bhuri Singh was acknowledged Raja of Jasrota. Jasrota was however annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1834 and was bestowed as Jagir on Raja Hira Singh, son of Raja Dhian Singh Dogra, Prime Minister of Lahore State. The deposed family was allowed a fief at Khanpur in Jammu near Nagrota where they finally settled.

Hira Singh was the Raja of Jasrota from 1834 to 21st December 1844 when he was murdered in Lahore. He added a palace to the existing fort but it was largely non-resident. After Hira Singh's death Jasrota was integrated in Jammu by Gulab Singh, in 1844. But a month afterwards Jasrota had to suffer the worst pangs of extinction when Sikh armies invaded Jammu and its dependencies in January 1845. Gulab Singh sent a detachment under Jawahir Singh to bring away the treasure and crown jewels left there by Raja Hira Singh. The Sikh garrison there was attacked and defeated, while plundering the wives of Hira Singh, when preparing to burn as Satis.¹⁸ Thereupon a larger Sikh force under Sham Singh Attariwala and Rattan Singh Mann was sent against Jasrota. Gulab Singh

17. Document No. M/505, State Archives, Patiala bears endorsement of 'Lal De Jasrota' along with those of Ganjar De, Charat Singh Chamial and Purab Singh Mankotia. The last named prince was son of Raja Chhatar Singh of Mankot who was driven out of Mankot in 1825 by Rai Kesari Singh Kahna-Chakiya, Commander of Raja Suchet Singh who had been given the Raj of Samba and Bandratta in 1822.

18. P.G.R., 164/25, Broadfoot to Currie, 30 December, 1844,

therefore sent messengers to deliver over the fort of Jasrota to Sikhs in pursuance of the treaty. *Mian Jawahir Singh* therefore departed to Jammu and *Wazir Bachna*, *Hira Singh's Diwan*, was left there to hand over the treasure and stores to the Sikhs.¹⁹ Jasrota was restored to Gulab Singh after his reconciliation with Lahore Darbar, and became a district of Jammu Province when Maharaja Gulab Singh got the State of Jammu and Kashmir in March 1846. In these squabbles the people of Jasrota suffered terribly. The Sikhs siezed and carried away their women and boys²⁰ besides the usual plunder. The end of this once powerful seat of political power and famous school of Dogra painting was no less pathetic, and Kahn Singh records that due to a curse Jasrota town was abandoned (in about 1850) and its ruins swallowed up in jungle.²¹

19. P.G.R., 164/41, Broadfoot to Currie, 25 January, 1845.

20. Chopra, Barkat Rai, *Kingdom of the Punjab*, 1839-45, p. 376.

21. Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 215.

Lakhanpur State

Lakhanpur, also known to some records as Thein, was a small state lying in the tract between the Ravi and the Ujh rivers. Its capital at Lakhanpur on the right bank of the Ravi gave the state its name. The alternative name Thein as found in some records, came from the name of a strong fort on a lofty cliff overhanging the right bank of the Ravi, some ten kilometres north of Lakhanpur, now the site for the proposed Thein Hydel Project. It was bounded on the north by Karaidhar Range separating it from Basohli and on the south by the Punjab plain. It was originally a part of the greater Jasrota state. It branched off in the beginning of the fourteenth century as a result of the royal family dispute.

At the close of the thirteenth century Jasrota was being ruled by Raja Kalas Dev, who died about 1325 A.D. He had two sons, Pratap Dev and Sangram Dev. After their father's death the latter also claimed half the state. The dispute turned grave and therefore the neighbouring rulers of Bhadu and Basohli and the eminent persons of Jasrota clan had to intervene with the result that the state was divided and all the territory between the Ujh and the Ravi was surrendered to Sangram Dev, who established an independent principality with his capital at Lakhanpur.

The *Vansavali* of the family is not available, hence nothing much is known about the successors of Sangram Dev. However, oral tradition and facts recorded in the *Vansavalis* of neighbouring states tell us that Sangram Dev had four sons, of whom the eldest was named Saidu who had received the title of 'Rai' from the Sultans of Delhi. This Saidu Rai succeeded to the 'gaddi' of Lakhanpur whereas his two brothers, Bairam and Bamba, got small jagirs and founded two villages Barwal and Bamiyal after their names respectively. Rai Saidu is also connected with the history of the principality of Samba, as his younger son Malhu Dev founded Samba State and thus became the progenitor of the Sambyal clan.

Lakhanpur State is twice mentioned in the Muhammadan-chronicles. The first reference is in the *Ma'asirul-umara* about 'Balidar' of Lakhanpur, evidently Balabhadar, who was involved in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-89 in the reign of Akbar¹. Again, the *Akbarnama* mentions the "Raja of Lakhanpur" referred to in connection with the rebellion of A.D. 1594-95, as having come in and surrendered to Sheikh Farid at Samba along with Raja Bhabu of Jasrota. Probably he was Balabhadur who also received the same Mughal official on his arrival at Lakhanpur. The reference in the *Akbarnama* is as follows :

"Having left Hasan Beg there (Jasrota) with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Raja came out to meet it. The *parganah* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkoman, and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Ravi by a ford and proceeded to the *parganah* of Pathan." The ford referred to is most probably the one at Bamial which leads direct to Pathankot.

The events above mentioned indicate to the possibility of the disruption of this small state and its annexation to the *faujdari* of Pathankot, as the latter *parganah* had been detached from Nurpur state by Akbar and built up into a Mughal district. No further mention of Lakhanpur is found in later records, so we do not know how long the Mughals held its possession. But in the times of later Mughals Lakhanpur seems to have become a bone of contention among the three neighbouring states of Basohli, Nurpur and Jasrota. All the three states coveted its possession but Jasrota seems to have prior right being its parent state. Therefore, on decline of Mughal power in the hills Jasrota recovered the state,

1. Shahbaz Khan, *Ma'asi-ulr-Umara*, Vol. II (Eng. tr.) pp. 167-70, *Ain-i-Akbari* Eng. tr., Vol, p. 344,

although Basohli also seems to have been in possession of the state for some time during the greater part of the 18th century. Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur finally succeeded in acquiring it from Basohli in 1785 after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Dev, and it was regarded as Nurpur territory down to 1846-47. At the time of settlement after the first Sikh War, Lakhanpur became British territory as having been a portion of Nurpur state.

After the first Sikh War the hill tracts between the Ravi and the Indus, including Chamba, were transferred to the possession of Maharaja Gulab Singh by the Treaty of 16th March, 1846. The Raja of Chamba, however was adamant to submit to the supremacy of Gulab Singh and desired his possessions to be left out of Jammu and Kashmir state. An arrangement was therefore made whereby Lakhanpur was ceded to Gulab Singh in lieu of Chamba cis-Ravi, and thus it became a part of the Jasrota, and later on of the Kathua District of Jammu Province.

As told earlier, Malhu or Malh Dev, the younger son of Rai Saidu had laid the foundation of Samba State. The elder son, Jhojhar Dev had become Raja of Lakhanpur. He granted the small chiefship of Tirikot in jagir to one of his sons, and the same was in the possession of the family to the present century till the auguration of latest land reforms in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 128.
4. Charak, Dr. S.D.S., *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. I, p. 300; *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 108.
5. Sapru, Arjun Nath, *The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State* p. 75.

Samba State

Samba was a small state, sandwiched between Jammu-Bahu on the west, by Jasrota on the east, by Bhadu, Bandralta and Mankot on the north and north-east. The Punjab plain fringed it on the south. It was an off-shoot of Lakhanpur, as the latter was an off-shoot of Jasrota. Its founder Malhu or Malh Dev was the younger son of Rai Saidu, the second ruler of Lakhanpur State. The state seems to have been founded about 1400 A.D.¹ As a separate state Samba probably had a very brief career with the result that its extent and boundaries have been quite forgotten and are not ascertainable.

Before being established as an independent principality by a scion of the Lakhanpur family, it was in the possession of a local Rajput tribe named Ghotar, the original inhabitants of that place. Into this family married Malhu Dev of Lakhanpur. After his

1. The founder of the state, Malhu Dev was the younger son of Rai Saidu of Lakhanpur, the second ruler of that state which was founded by Sangram Dev in about 1350 A.D. Malhu Lakhanpuria being third in line from Sangram Dev (1350—1370 A.D.), must have lived from about 1360 to 1420, and may have created the Samba principality about the middle of his career.

marriage he took up his residence at Samba and afterwards subverted the local family with the help of some troops of the Sultan of Delhi,² and made himself master of the tract with Samba as its capital. The ruling clan derived its name Sambiyal or Samyal from their capital. It seems doubtful if the family ever had the title of 'Raja' and were probably not recognised as such by the government of Delhi. They appear to have lost all power at an early date in the reign of Akbar, probably in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-89.³ However, the Sambyal chiefs seem to have been absorbed in the Mughal official hegemony and held high *mansabs*. At least one of their chiefs, Gokal Singh, has been mentioned as holding an important position at the Imperial court at Delhi from where whole of the Samba tract was conferred on him by a written order.⁴

Very scanty information is available on its history and it finds mention in Persian chronicles only once or twice. On the occasion of the revolt of A. D. 1588-89, Samba does not find mention. But in the rebellion of A.D. 1594-95, the Mughal army, as mentioned in the *Akbarnama*⁵, advanced from Jammu to Samba, and there Bhabu, the rebellious Raja of Jasrota, and Balibhadar, the Raja of Lakhanpur, came in and surrendered. No mention is made of a Raja of Samba, but the disposal of the *parganas* of Samba and Jasrota was referred to the Emperor Akbar and two *kos* from Samba a fort was built and garrisoned by Mughal troops.

Gur Sen, another chief of Samba was made the *Subehdar* of Multan in the reign of Shahjahan who also wanted to make him the Raja of Samba. But probably the insolence and stubbornness of the local people deterred the Imperial officers from taking this step.⁶

Samba finally came under the control of Jammu in the reign of Hari Dev and was integrated with that state. The place finds

2. Kahan Singh, Thakur : *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mukh-i-Panjab*, p. 366.

3. *H.P.H.S.* : Vol. II, p 574.

4. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

5. *Akbrnama*, Elliot & Dowson,

6. An interesting anecdote is narrated about this event. It states that when the imperial officers led Gur Sen to Samba to seat him as Raja of that place, the most destitute person of the clan, who could not brook the superiority of one of their folk, went up a berry-tree and welcomed him with the clan salutation of 'Jaidev' as claim of equality and non-submission. The imperial officers thought it futile to raise a member of that clan to superiority over such a non-conforming people, and the proposal was dropped.

mention in the autobiography of a slave, entitled *Tahmas Nama*, which referring to the events in the beginning of 1761 mentions Samba and asserts that "It was within the jurisdiction of another Rajah." At that time Samba was probably ruled from Jasrota an important and powerful state which was itself under the supremacy of Maharaja Ranjit Dev, from whose days Samba was practically a part of the Jammu State, and it continued to be so till the expulsion of the last ruler of the senior branch of the Jammu family, Raja Jit Singh, in 1816. A few years later, on the transfer of the hill tracts to the junior branch of the Jammu family to which Gulab Singh belonged, as fief in 1822, Samba with Bandralta-Ramnagar fell to the share of Raja Suchet Singh. He built a palace in the fort there, where he often resided, and on his death in 1844 some of his *ranis* and *golis* (slave girls) there became *sati*. Their *samadhi* is still to be seen on the bank of Basantar river standing in a grove of trees. Then Samba was occupied by Gulab Singh, against whose supremacy the Samyals joined arms with the Sikhs when they invaded Jammu in 1845. At the creation of Jammu and Kashmir state in 1846, Samba became its integral part and was made a *Tahsil* in Jammu district.

The Sambyal royal clan is one of the largest in the hills, and members of it are found scattered in large numbers in hills and plain besides Samba town. In Samba itself they are said to have founded 22 settlements called *Mandis* which they attribute to 22 sons of Malhu Dev. But only four sons of Malhu are recorded in the *Vanshavali*. Only eight *Mandis*, along with their three offshoot are known to exist; and these were founded from time to time by the prominent members of the clan.

7. Madhav Rao, P. Setu : *Tahmas Nama*, Eng. tr., 1967 : Popular Prakashan, Bombay, p. 101.

Bhau or Sahran State

The ancient Sahran State was founded by Bhau tribe of the Rajputs. In the Jammu region Bhau concentrations were mostly found at and around Bhau Chak, Dalpat Bhor and Kulaith, the latter place being their important capital, although they were found sparsely scattered on both sides of the Chenab. The origin of Bhau family is obscure and like several ruling tribes it also claims a legendary origin from a collateral of Jammu ruling family which had migrated to Kashmir in the remote past, a fact which is based on faith than on historical evidence. According to the family tradition of the Bhau clan, they have been an early offshoot from Jammu. According to Thakur Nagina Ram Parmar, Saran Dev, the grandson of Raja Bhau Dev of Kashmir, migrated to Jammu in remote past and founded village Sahranpur occupied the territory around it and established his rule. His fifteenth descendant was Jabar Dev, who conquered the Kalaith territory and became independent ruler of a state comprising 84 villages.¹ Thakur Kahan Singh's findings also support this claim. He narrates the story that, at a very early period, Puran-Karan the Raja of Jammu sent his elder

1. Parmar, Thakur Nagina Ram, *Tawarikh-i-Qadim Aryavrat* (Urdu), Lahore, p. 573.

son Daya Karn to rule in Kashmir on the demand of the zamindars of that country. In all fifty-five generations of the Jammu branch ruled in Kashmir. Sonth Dev was probably the last ruler of this Ikshvaku dynasty. After him his successors were reduced to the status of jagirdars of Rainabari in the valley. One of these was Rao Bhau Dev, whose grandson Saran Dev was forced by Raja Godhar's descendants to leave Kashmir and migrate to Jammu where he founded the village of Sahranpur after his name in the Tawi valley some 20 kilometres distant from Jammu town. This probably took place during 7th or 8th century A.D. From Raja Bhau Dev the family took their distinctive cognomen of Bhauwal, which is their clan name.

After Rao Saran Dev his descendants continued to rule the tiny state probably as an autonomous principality paying tribute now and then to Akhnur or Jammu, till the first quarter of the 19th century when finally it was subverted. The family *Vansavali* contains some 27 names upto its last chief Rao Laj Singh who was killed in a battle in about 1815 A.D. Some names have possibly been dropped in the process of frequent copying. The reigns of the immediate successors of Saran Dev were uneventful till his eleventh successor, Jabar Dev, became the chief of the Bhau clan. He was a brave and ambitious man. He invaded and conquered Kalaith and occupied a large chunk of its territory and extended his rule over 84 villages. He had married his younger brother in the Thakiyal ruling house of Kalaith before subverting that tiny principality. He had eighteen sons with whose help he strengthened his hold on surrounding territories. He did not like to remain at Sahranpur, so he shifted his residence to Bhau Chak village in Akhnur territory, where later he founded his new capital village of Dalpat Bhor and came to reside there. He most probably ruled during the 13th century.

In sixth generation after him was Rao Sanghar who was the first to raise a mud fort at Kalaith, which his grandson and successor Rai Samail converted into a large brick fort and made his own residence. From his days the Bhau State came to be called after this new capital. This must have happened during the 16th century. Rai Samail's successors Rai Sulakhan, Rai Sen, Rai Mandhata and Rai Rajrup ruled there one after the other. Rai Rajrup was contemporary and subordinate of Raja Gaje Singh of Jammu to whom he had married one of his daughters. After Rai Rajrup the principality was ruled by his son Adwar Singh and grandson Daya Singh.

There seems to have been frequent conflicts between the state and the neighbouring chiefs. One such conflict took place with the Sohlwala Akhnur chiefs on a boundary dispute. In the battle that ensued Adwar Singh was killed along with his younger son, Paras Singh. Rai Daya Singh could not resist the invasion and the Sohlwalas occupied Kalaith and its despendencies. However, Daya Singh's son Rai Ghamand Singh, recovered Kalaith fort with the help of Ranjit Dev of Jammu, but a large portion of the principality was lost. Ghamand Singh had two sons, Laj Singh and Garhah Singh, the former succeeding him to the truncated principality. It was during these days that Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded trans Chenab territories of Manawar and Kalaith. Laj Singh fought the Sikhs valiently but was overpowered. He was restored to the chiefship as tributary to Ranjit Singh. Soon a feud broke out between the Bhaus and the Salathia Jamwals of Manglawala. In the bloody scuffle Laj Singh got killed. He left behind no issues so the title passed to the family of his younger brother Garhah Singh whose daughter was married to Gulab Singh's eldest son, Udham Singh. Finally, some time after 1820, Gulab Singh over-turned and annexed the state to his Jammu principality. He granted a *jagir* to the ruling chief in Riasi, where that branch of the family still resides.

Multan Singh was the last who gave up the royal title and took to agriculture and became a zamindar. There were in all thirty-one chiefs bearing the title of 'Rai', from the time of the emigration from Kashmir till the extinction of the state. The exploits of some Bhau chiefs were commemorated in *bars* (ballads) by hill bards till recently.

Bhoti State

This small state seems to be an ancient principality. Its capital was at Krimachi, a small village situated on the west of the Ladda range, about 9 kilometres to the north of Udhampur city. The site is strewn with remains of ancient habitation bearing on its great antiquity. Krimchi is said to have been founded by one Keechak. At present it is a small village on the one side of the Devak stream whereas the old site is on the other side of it which had a number of stone-built temples. Of these four are still standing in a state of decadence and are ascribed to Keechaks about whom tradition is quite silent. However, Kahn Singh opines that Keechak or Kreechak may be a variation of Kanishka who has been mentioned in *Rajatarangini* along with Hushka and Jushka, as rulers of Kashmir.¹ If so Krimachi and its temples were founded in the early middle centuries. The architectural style of the edifices point out the probability of their construction during the 8th or 9th century. The largest of these temples is still on a fair state of preservation. The interior of these shrines, where the idols are, is now two feet lower than the surrounding surface, showing an im-

1. Kahan Singh, Thakur : *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulkh-i-Punjab*, Vol. 2, 1912, p. 415.

mense accumulation of debris in past times and is a sign of great antiquity. There is also a fort in the vicinity which is on a hillock, and is in ruins. Inside the fort is a large open compound and the ruins of the ancient palace, the residence of the old Rajas of the principality.

However, the state seems to have been established much prior to these constructions and seems to have been collaterals of the ruling house of Jammu, being descended from a branch of the house of Daya Karan, the ruler of Kashmir, who had migrated to the Valley from Jammu. The ruling house of Bhoti thus claims a common descent with the Bhau branch of the Rajputs who trace their origin from Bhau Dev, a descendant of Daya Karan.²

Apart from these facts very little is known of its annals as no sources, nor even its *Vansavali*, are available. The line of its Rajas was called Keechaks after its founder. The first ruler of the line, named Sompat, came from Kashmir and settled down in Bathal (Bhattal) at Bhoti, hence the clan name Bhatial.

Som Pat was followed to the *gaddi* by Daya Dhata, Bijay Pal, Si Pawar, Asthan Pawar, Dalpan-sut, Patraj.sut, Ujain alias Janian, Balochan, Trilochan, Timar and Nahar one after the other. Nahar's son Neel-se became the ancestor of the chiefs of Dang-Bathal, whereas his eldest son Nand, became ruler of Bhoti. Seventeenth in descent from Nand was Bahadur Singh, who was subordinate contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Dev.³ Bahadur Singh's grand-daughter was married to Raja Bhupinder Pal of Basohli and she became mother of Raja Kalyan Pal. Bahadur Singh was followed by Raja Jai Singh and Himmat Singh one after the other. The latter was contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore.⁴

Bhoti State does not find mention in any of the records, and may always have been more or less subject to the supremacy of Jammu, as it certainly was at a later period.⁵ During the reign of Himmat Singh it came under the control of the Sikhs. On the transfer of the hill tract to Raja Gulab Singh and his two brothers as Jagir it fell completely under their control in 1820⁶ and finally it became a part of the 'Raj' of Jammu which was conferred on

2. Kahan Singh Balaoria, Thakur, *Twarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu-o-Kashmir* p. 55.

3. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *H.P.P.S.*, Vol. II, p. 577.

6. *Document No. M/503, State Archives, Patiala.*

Gulab Singh in 1822 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. According to Frederic Drew Kiramachi used to be under a Raja or a *Mian* of the Bhatial tribe of Rajputs, "who was tributary to Jammu, paying to it yearly 2,000 rupees and giving the services of some ten horsemen. About the year 1834 Gulab Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort. After some time they took it and the country was annexed"⁷. A small jagir was granted to the family.

The last Raja of the principality was Himmat Singh's son Pratap Singh who had three sons and a daughter who was married to Raja Sir Amar Singh and gave birth to Prince Hari Singh. Thus there were thirty-four Rajas in all. Some names may have been omitted. The State therefore came into existence probably in the tenth or in the early part of eleventh century.

7. Drew, F.: *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 87.

Bandralta (Ramnagar) State

BANDRALTA, now called RAM NAGAR, a small state some fifteen miles wide was situated in the middle of the Tawi Valley in the south of the Middle Mountains. It was bounded on the south-west by Jammu, on the west by Bhoti, on the north by Chanehni, on the north-east by Bhadrava, on the east by Basohli and on the south by Mankot. The capital was originally called Nagar, as being the only town in the principality. The name of the tract was Bandralta after which the ruling family took the clan name of Bandral. According to the *Vansavali*, it was founded in the 11th century, beginning by a cadet of the Chamba royal family¹, named Bahattar Dev. fifth in descent from Raja Shilavarman of Chamba. He migrated to Nagar', renamed Bandralta, and founded the principality of that name.²

The country is a flat valley bounded on the south by the sand. Stone range, 'which is cut through by the Tawi on its way towards Jammu. This range circles through the country to the northward and eastward, until it joins the snowy mountains of Bhadarwa. It is crossed by two passes, one over the snow (in winter), which is

1. *HPHS*, ; pp. 47, 585.

2. *Gulab.*, Eng. tr., p. 39.

the more direct way from Ramnagar to Basohli, the summit of the other occurs about six miles on the south-west of Ramnagar.³ The region is mostly mountainous about half of which remains under snow for greater part of the year. It yields much natural products like *dhup*, *guchhian*, *rasaunt*, *banafsha* (violet) and deodar timber. Some gardens produce tea leaf also. The slopes are clothed by woods interspersed with terraced cultivation of rice, maize, wheat, oil seeds and other grains. Fruit trees and *baid-i-mushk* also abound in the valleys.

The capital Bandralta or Ramnagar is situated on a *maidan* or level on the left bank of the Ramnagar *Khud*, about twenty Kilometres from its junction with the Tawi, and about forty five kilometres east of Jammu. It is built among numerous and regular sandstone ranges, whose formation appears to have been the necessary consequence of the upraising of the higher mountains, rather than the result of force acting directly upon themselves. Between the Tawi and Ramnagar, in particular they dip usually at an angles of about forty-five degrees, with a steep abutment on north at regular intervals and with so uniform a direction, that from one point of view it resembled the retiring crest of a heavy ocean swell. The open space on which Ramnagar stands, is washed by a stream which flows from the north-east and joins the Tawi.⁴ It is built at a height of 2,700 feet above the sea, on a small triangular plateau, which is cut off on two sides by ravines and connected along the third with the slopes of the hills that surround, and shut it.⁵

The square built and turreted castle stands on one side of the flat, and opposite to it, a few hundred yards distant is the palace built by Raja Suchet Singh immediately after assignment of Bandralta and Samba to him by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1822. He raised this picturesque and baronical-looking edifice and re-named the place as Ramnagar. The edifice is chiefly composed of blank walls and square towers, of unequal height and size. At either end of the facade is an open saloon, filled up with mirrors, in the true Oriental style and one of these opened in the Raja's sleeping apartment, which was also splendidly ornamented with looking-glasses and a few of the latest and most passionate productions of the French print shops⁶. This town has signs of having at one time been among the most flourishing in these parts because of being the capital of the

3. Vigne, G.T., Vol. I, p. 187.

4. Vigne, G.T. *op. cit* Vol. I, p. 188.

5. Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 85.

6. Vigne, G.T., *op. cit.*, p. 188.

Bandral Mians for more than eight centuries. There are some remains of the buildings of the Bandral Rajas. Besides, there is a large *Samadhi* to Suchet Singh, surrounded by a garden of cypresses. Above Suchet Singh's palace, are the ruins of the earlier as 'Old' Palace, with portions of tower, inner walls, courtyards and massive, other walls still standing. On the west of the courtyard is a long Verandah with five cusped arches and six sets of twin pillars, the base and top of each pillar being decorated with lotus petals. Each arch is surrounded by large rectangular slabs in lime plaster with borders of two horizontal lines as in the palace of Balwant Singh at Sruinsar⁷.

A very scanty information on the history of the Bandral rulers is available. The local tradition narrates that in the region of the modern Ramnagar, every village had a *Rana* or *Thakur* during the early Christian centuries. The rule during this *Thakurain* period was unbearably tyrannical and oppressive. As a result people of the locality went to Chamba to ask help. Vichittar-Varman (A.D. 980-1000) was then in power, and as he could not go himself to rescue the *zamindars* from oppression he sent his younger brother, named Bahattar Dev, who vanquished the *Ranas*, established peace and made himself ruler. Thus the ancestor of the Bandral family and founder of the state was a cadet of the royal house of Chamba, and from the *Vansavali* of that state we learn that Bandralta, must have been founded about A.D. 1000. The tradition also narrates that the *zamindars* who approached Vichittar-Varman for help, were descendants of a certain *zamindars* named Ghoru and their offspring still bears the clan name after that ancestor.

A tradition is also current which informs us of the methods employed by the invading Raja for destroying the troublesome opponents. It narrates that the Raja and the local *Rana* both availed the services of the same barber, who was bribed to cut the throat of the *Rana* while shaving him. In this way a powerful rival was removed. Seventy-two *Ranas* and *Thakurs* are said to have been overcome by one trick or the other, and the Raja then assumed, the name Bahattar to mark the fact⁸.

The later history of the State is quite obscure and, the *Vansavali* contains a string of 22 names only for a period of over 850 years. It seems that the names of several Rajas have been omitted in the process of copying.

7. Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9,
8. *H.P.H.S.* Vol. II, p. 585.

Raja Bahattar Dev was followed by Bhoj Dev and Sultan Dev. The latter name sounds strange for an Indian Raja in the eleventh century. About a dozen Rajas must have ruled between Bhoj Dev and "Sultan Dev before the name 'Sultan' became popular in India during the 13th century. Sultan Dev was followed by Keu Raj, Pratap Dev, Hukam Dev, Bheelam Dev, Jog Dev and Nahar Dev. Then the succession passed to Lakhman Dev, Tarbar Dev, Chhattar Sal and Kailashpat, one after the other bringing their rule down to the end of the imperial Mughals.

The state is not referred to in any Muhammadan histories. It was always a small principality, some fifteen miles long by ten miles wide and the revenues seldom exceeded a lakh of rupees. Nothing much is on record about its affairs and we can presume that it was always in close touch with Jammu, at least from the beginning of the 18th century, and it was, as referred to below, called upon to supply contingents for the wars of that time in which Jammu was involved⁹.

Chhattar Sal may have ruled from about 1700 to 1715, and Kailash Pat Dev, son of the former, between 1715 and 1730. Kailash Pat Dev had been more or less subordinate to Jammu, a status continued by his successors throughout the 18th century¹⁰.

The next Raja, Inder Dev fourteenth in the line, was a ruler of some consequence, and had received the title of 'Diwan' from the Emperor of Delhi¹¹. He was contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Dev, to whom he was a tributary¹².

The *Brijraj Panchasika* tells us that he sent his younger brother Jai Singh to accompany Brijraj Dev in his expedition against Kangra¹³ in 1773, A.D. In some of the Pahari paintings Inder Dev has been shown as worshipping Vishnu as Lakshmi-Narain. This shows his Vaishnava leanings. In reward of his services Jai Singh was given a jagir in Pathankot region by Ranjit Dev¹³. Inder Dev ruled from about 1730 to 1760 A.D.

Raja 'Diwan' Inder Dev was succeeded by his son Rajpat Dev, who ruled upto 1765 A.D. as a subordinate vassal of Jammu. He

9. *Ibid.* p. 586.

10. Archer, W. G., *op cit.*, p. 9 Kailashpat Dev has been painted at Jammu on a terrace in a painting in Victoria and Albert Museum, London, I.S. 187-195.

11. Kahan Singh, Thakur *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 458.

12. *Ibid* ; Gulab, p. 39.

13. *Brijraj Panchasika*, Vs. 8, (See Appendices in *History and Culture of Himalayan States* ; Vol. IV).

14. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

was followed by Bhagwant Singh, Jagat Singh, Bhup Singh and Chandardhar Dev (or Chandandhar Dev) who ruled one after the other¹⁵. Raja Chandandhar Dev was the last ruler of the old dynasty. He was dispossessed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who took the place in A.D. 1812, and held it for a time, until partly for the sake of rewarding a favourite, partly because of the trouble of holding it against the hill people¹⁶, Ranjit Singh made over the tract to Suchet Singh in fief when he was created Raja in 1822¹⁷. The ancient line was then dispossessed but allowed to remain for a time. Raja Suchet Singh held the place till his death in 1844. But his occupation of the place was not easy one. It is said that a great effort was made by the Bandral Thakurs against him also, when some thousands came to assault it Suchet Singh's men, however, held out in the fort, which is a well-planned work, until help came from the Sikh army¹⁸. As narrated earlier, Chanderdhar Dev, the last ruling Raja of Bandral, had been allowed to remain in the State, but his attempt to recover the territory made the situation awkward "and the family was finally exiled from the state". They first retired to Kangra, where they resided for some time under the protection of Raja Sansar Chand, but afterwards went to Tehri Garhwal and finally migrated to Ambala in the British territory and settled at Shahzadpur¹⁹. Later on, a pension of Rs. 3,000 was assigned to Chanderdhar Dev by the Jammu and Kashmir Government through the British Government after March 1846²⁰,

After the death of Raja Suchet Singh, Bandralata Raj became a part of Jammu Raj under Gulab Singh and became integrated with Jammu and Kashmir State on its creation in 1846. In about 1883, Maharaja Ranbir Singh gave it in jagir to his second son, Raja Ram Singh. After his death Ramnagar territory became an intergral part of Uddhampur District of Jammu Province and was built up into a *tehsil*.²¹

Raja Suchet Singh took much interest in Ramnagar which had

15. *Ibid.*, W.G. Archer, *Indian Painting from Punjnb Hills* Vol. I, p. 9, makes. Bhagwant Singh and Jagat Singh brothers of Rajpat Dev.
16. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 85.
17. State Archives, Patiala, *Document No.M/504* (Chatar Singh collection).
18. Drew, F., *op eit.*, p. 85.
19. *HPHS.*, p. 586.
20. *Ibid.*, Kahan Singh, Thakur : *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 458.
21. Kahan Singh, Thakur ; *op. cit.*, p. 459.

received its new name after coming under his control.²² The town bears marks of his presence. He took a pride in the place and improved it and encouraged its growth. The two long masonry-built bazaars were in his time full and busy; merchants from Amritsar and from Kabul were attracted to Ramnagar. Vigne, who visited the town in 1839, noticed the great variety of races of people who were to be seen there. He writes.

"I shall never forget the turmoil to meet me. I came upon the mydan, by torch-light and should think that at least 500 to 600 (a-large proportion of population) were assembled then. But the crowd was a curiosity, in consequence of a variety of costume which composed it; and the lights gleamed upon the dark features of the Hindus, the turbaned Patan, the ferocious Khyberi and the Kuzzilbash wearing the lamb-skin caps of Persia, who were all armed to the teeth".²³

A large place adorned with gardens, and the well built barracks, show that Suchet Singh knew how to make himself and his people comfortable.²⁴ He also built a fort on the Chaugan. On his death Ramnagar came under the rule of Jammu and in the absence of any royal court there the place became deserted and the palace decayed.

The Rajas of Bandralta have cherished some infatuation for painting and this small State "enjoyed for a brief period a small school of derivative painting." Its most eminent ruler Raja Inder Dev (c A.D. 1730—1760) was a "flower-loving" chief. As pointed out by W.G. Archer : "Although remarkably similar in appearance to his Mankot contemporary Raja Ajmat Dev, his wholly different personality was expressed in a series of portraits where he is shown in richly flowered jamas, wearing garlands round his neck and flowers in his turban and seated beside a vase also containing flowers."²⁵ Although in appearance these paintings are similar to those of Mankot style of the 1730-1750 period, these pictures lack the brilliant colour and suave Majesty of Mankot painting at its greatest and hence must be regarded as derivatives of what was probably the parent school.²⁶ Raja Suchet Singh continued patronising painting and painters and he got some of the finest murals executed in the walls of his newly built palace at Ramnagar.

22. Drew, F. *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 86, also Vigne, *Travels* Vol. I, pp. 187, 190.

23. Vigne, G. T., *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 190.

24. Archer, W.G., *op cit.*, p. 8-9

25. Archer, W. G. : *Pahari Miniatures : A Concise History*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1975, p. 16.

26. *Ibid.*

Riasi State

Riasi was a small principality situated some sixty kilometres to the north of Jammu in hills on the both sides of the river Chenab. Its ancient ruling family claimed descent from the Ranas of Mewar. It is said that its founder, Manu Man, was the second son of Maharana Rawal of Mewar. The young scion left Mewar in search for a better career, and came to Jammu and found employment with its Raja Jog Rai who ruled there in about 425 A.D.¹ Pleased with his loyal services the Raja of Jammu gave him a few villages in *jagir* near Jammu where his offspring continued to live for a long time after him and render military service to their overlords. The seventeenth in succession from Manu-Man was Rana Vijay Dev who was contemporary of Raja Chak Dev (Chakar Dhar, also called Bajar Dhar in the *Rajatarangini*), in whose reign he founded a village named Bijialta after his name, some four miles from Jammu town across the Tawi river. This happened probably about 1160 A.D. He had three sons, Sis Pal, Dipal and Ras Pal. During the reign of Baj or Vijay Dev (1164-1215 A. D.), son and successor of Chakar Dhar Dev of Jammu, when chaos prevailed in north-western India on the death of Prithvi Raj Chohan at the second

1. Charak, S. D. S., *A Short History of Jammu Raj*, 1985, p. 49.

battle of Tarain (1192 A. D.), all the three brothers eschewed allegiance to Jammu and became independent chiefs. Sis Pal established his rule at Bajialta and the youngest brother, Ras Pal, migrated to the territory at the foot of the Trikuta (Vaishno-Devi) mountain and founded the village of Riasi after his name in the vicinity of the river Chenab and made it his headquarters. Thus this tiny State came into being in about 1195 A.D., the year when the Akhnur and Nurpur States were also founded. Ras Pal reduced the surrounding territories of Salal, Gulabgarh and a portion of hill territory of Akhnur, over which his successors continued to rule till the middle of the 17th century, probably for the most part as tributary of the Jammu Raj. Traditionally the State included the territories of Jerhi, Jambarhi, Badda, Judda, Salal, Bhabhar, Bhaun, Panassa, Barhi and Riasi.

Dipal, the second son of Rana Vijay Dev, became the *wazir* of the Raja of Bhuti (Krimchi). His grandson, Rana Billu, founded a village, called Bilwalta after his name some miles from Krimchi at the place where Udhampur was later founded by Mian Udham Singh, the eldest son of Gulab Singh. Nothing is known about the successors of Rana Ras Pal and Riasi State till after the middle of the 17th century when it was completely reduced to subjection by Raja Hari Dev.

Raja Hari Dev (1656-92)², the founder of the greatness of Jammu, not only conquered and annexed the Bahu principality but also ejected the Rasial Ranas from Riasi and annexed the State to his kingdom. He then gave it to his third son Raja Jaswant Dev as a part of a vast *jagir* which included besides Riasi, Akhnur and Bajwat as well as Salal, Gulabgarh and Arnas. Riasi thus turned into a *jagir* in which capacity it continued to play an important role in the polity of Jammu.

Raja Jaswant Dev was the youngest brother of Raja Gaje Singh of Jammu. He kept his residence at the Purani Mandi palaces. He had two sons, Mian Rattan Dev and Mian Chandan Dev. Rattan Dev was appointed commander-in-chief of Jammu armies by Maharaja Ranjit Dev, and succeeded to the *jagir* of Riasi. But the Akhnur and Bajwat portions of the *jagir* were cut off and built into a separate *jagir* for the younger brother Chandan Dev.

At Riasi Mian Rattan Dev was succeeded by his son and grandson, Mian Man Singh and Jang Bahadur Singh respectively. The latter's son, Mian Diwan Singh, next became the *jagirdar* of Riasi. As a favorite of Raja Jit Singh of Jammu he played an important

2. *Ibid* p. 89.

role in the affairs of Jammu Court where Rani Bandrahli and Mian Mota the *madarul-maham* or 'minister', were heading the rival factions. The Rani won over Mian Diwan Singh to her cause and with his help got Mian Mota murdered in cold blood in August, 1813. At that time Jammu was under the sway of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja imprisoned Mian Diwan Singh at Lahore for his complicity in the murder of the *wazir* who was also one of the trusted courtiers of the Maharaja. Gulab Singh was ordered by the Lahore Court to reduce Riasi which he did efficiently in spite of brave resistance on the part of Mian Bhup Singh, son of the dispossessed *jagirdar*. Gulab Singh built the fort of Bhingarh at Riasi with the help of his officer Zorawar Singh and placed his *Diwan* Amir Chand at the head of that fort as *kardar*. This was accomplished probably by the beginning of 1817. Mian Bhup Singh surreptitiously got his father released from prison and coming to the Riasi hills invested the Bhingarh fort in April 1817. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh heard of this rebellion he added Riasi to Gulab Singh's *jagirs* and deputed him to suppress the rebels. The Mians failed to take the fort on account of Zorawar Singh Kahluria's bravery. Gulab Singh suppressed the rebellion with strong hand crushed the rebel companions of the Mians for ever. Both the father and son fled away, and were finally reconciled to the Maharaja who took mercy on them and made provision for their maintenance. Later, after Mian Diwan Singh's death, Mian Bhup Singh tried once again to raise the standard of revolt for which crime he was imprisoned for life. But he was released when Maharaja Ranjit Singh was in his death bed in May 1839, and was given a few villages in *jagir* in Pathankot district where he and his successors continued to live afterwards.

In 1817 Riasi had been conferred as a *jagir* on Gulab Singh which he finally merged with Jammu Raj when the latter place was given to him as perpetual principality. When he became Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State in 1846 he raised Riasi as headquarters of a district comprising of two *tehsils* of Riasi and Rajauri, which arrangement continued till 1947 when Riasi was relegated to the status of a *tehsil* of the newly created *district of* Udhampur.

Akhnur State

This state lay to the west of the river Chenab, its eastern fringe running along the river for some miles. It extended for many miles to the west and included the towns of Ramgarh, Ambaran, Karianwala, Akhnur and Daultnagar. The original seat of the state seems to have been the village of Amba-Rai, now called Ambaran, which was founded by the founder of the state, a scion of the Pawar or Parmar dynasty of Dhar-Ujjain to which the famous Raja Bhoj belonged.

According to the annals of Ambarayan Rajputs who claim a Parmar descent, their ancestor who founded Amba-ray-Akhnur State, was Rai Jag Dev Pawar. He was the chief commander of the Parmar ruler of the Dhara State in Central India. Probably offended with the King's attitude he left his country with some companions and travelled northward till they reached in 1094 A.D. a small habitation then called Viratnagari, now known as Akhnur. They settled at a place some two miles north-east of that place and named it Ambarai after the family diety 'Amba' one of the names of goddess Durga. The name became corrupted into Ambaran with passage of time and the same clan acquired the cognomen of Ambaraiyan.

The annals of Parmars reveal that they had thirty-five offshoots which fanned out to various parts of India. One of its scions, Bataij migrated to the Punjab in the days of Prithvi Raj Chohan. His offspring settled in Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and Jalandhar. Another offshoot called Bhatla settled in the Doab, the third offshoot is that of Dod who are *jagirdars* of Garhi Manswal. The Ambaraiyans of Jammu region were the fourth such clan. Raja Jag Dev is said to have been the grandson of Tung, the younger brother of the Parmar king Udey Dutt. Jag Dev built the strong fort of Garhi at a place some five miles to the west of Akhnur which housed his palaces also. He conquered and brought under his sway some 85 villages situated along the Chenab and in the territory between that river and the Tawi from Ambaran upto the village Kanjli. Nothing is known about his successors, except that some 20 to 25 of them ruled over Akhnur territories and that the last Ambaraiyan Raja of Akhnur was Vijay Pal. He indulged more in worship and religious affairs with the result that the state officials became headstrong and administration deteriorated. Taking advantage of this situation Raja Jai Singh of Ramgarhia clan and his brother Bijay Singh, invaded Akhnur. The struggle continued for a month in which the Pawar Rana was finally vanquished and he fled towards Bajwat. The Ramgarhias also suffered much. Both the brothers, Jai Singh and Bijay Singh fell in battle field. Mahi Prakash, the son of the latter became ruler. He made Garh his capital. Thus Ramgarhia Jamwals became rulers of Akhnur. This event probably took place around 1745 A.D.

The Reign of Ramgarhia Jamwals.

Raja Kapur Dev of Jammu had twenty-two sons, of whom the sixth was Bhoj Dev who was given Ramgarh *talluqa* in *jagir*, Bhoj Dev strengthened the Ramgarh fort and made it his residence from which fact his successors acquired the 'al' or cognomen of Ramgarhia Jamwals. His son Pratap Dev was an intrepid *jagirdar* whose son Mian Bishambar Dev was one of the favourites of Raja Kishan Dev of Bahu. Mian Bishambar Dev had three sons, Samdanu, Karam Dev and Ganda, who in their ignorance offended a Kahan Brahmin, who committed suicide and his small daughter and wife burnt themselves on his pyre. This event so effected the brothers that they decided to leave their country. They at last took up service with Raja Kripal Dev of Bahu where Mian Samdanu gave a good account of his swordsmanship and leadership as commander-in-chief of Bahu armies in bloody feud with Jasrota. It were two of

Samadanu's sons, Mians Jai Singh and Vijay Singh, who defeated and drove away out of Akhnur Rai Vijay Pal with the help of an undaunted chief Mian Sidh Manalia, as referred to above. But Jai Singh and Vijay Singh were both killed and Jai Singh's son Raja Mahi Prakash Ramgarhia became ruler of Akhnur-Ambaran state. He strengthened his hold by appointing his younger brother, Harkha his *wazir* and Mian Sidh Manalia as his commander-in-chief. After a few years the ousted Akhnur ruler Vijay Pal made a desperate effort to recover his lost kingdom with the help of his clansmen. Though he failed in his endeavour, but his adversary Mahi Prakash was killed in the battle.

Mahi Prakash was followed on the *gaddi* by his eldest son Budhi Singh who took a vow at his instalation not to take meals unless he had killed one Akhnuri Ambaraiyan every day. He kept the vow so religiously that a large number of Ambaraiyans fell prey to his cruel sword. Scarred at this bloodshed the Ambaraiyans fled away in other regions and some even merged in inferior *bradaries* to escape recognition. His cruel ways caused great upheaval among the people who started deserting their homes in large number lest they might become victims of his revengeful whim. Raja Budhi Singh was an accentric chief. He would hang not the culprit but the tallest man in the culprit's family. When Ambaraiyan people were not available he kept his vow by cutting a mango tree belonging to an Ambaraiyan every day before taking his meals.

Several odd happenings of his reign are narrated by people of Akhnur. One concerns the unlimited official corruption giving birth to a maxim '*baran pethey tairan lagi*', i.e., 'twelve gourds and thirteen tax collectors'. The story goes that once a farmer brought twelve gourds in a bag to sell in the bazaar of Akhnur. A number of petty officers came to him they took away one gourd each as *nazarana* so that the farmer was soon left only with his empty bag, which too was carried away as his share by the 13th official. His rule was notorious for cruelties and oddities and is still celebrated as the 'Akhnuria-Raj', i.e., Akhnuria-type of administration. Once a clever villager who had been so robbed of his goods as well as '*tarangarh*' (the tying net) discovered the inefficiency of the administration and thought of making the capital out of this condition. He retired to the cremation *ghat* on the bank of the river Chenab near the Hari Mandir, lit a *dhuni* (sacred fire) and took his seat there. He began charging one rupee and a quarter for every dead body brought there for cremation and declared himself to be '*rani-khan ka sala*, i.e., brother-in-law (from wife's side) of the queen. No body ever questioned him and he made a fortune till one day a close relation

of the Ramgarhia ruler died and the villager demanded the usual fee from the Raja who had accompanied the funeral procession. The fact came to the purview of the queen who made the Raja understand with some difficulty that women did not have wives and hence no wife's brother (*sala*). The king at once sent for the man who narrated the whole story. The Raja was much amused and forgave the villager. The latter built a *pukka* bazar in Akhnur which is now called *Pukka-danga*.

Raja Chandan Dev and His Successors.

But luckily for the Akhnuria-Ambaraiyans his days were drawing to a close and a new power in the person of Mian Chandan Dev Jamwal was rising to challenge his authority. As narrated in the account of Riasi State, Raja Hari Dev of Jammu gave the *jagir* of Riasi-Akhnur to his third son Mian Jaswant Dev, who had six sons, the eldest two being Rattan Dev and Chandan Dev respectively. Jaswant Dev had been the commander-in-chief of Raja Dhruv Dev. After his death his two sons were raised to first and second command of the Jammu army by Maharaja Ranjit Dev on his accession. When Ranjit Dev was detained at Lahore for twelve years, both the brothers helped Ranjit Dev's younger brother Ghansar Dev in carrying on administration of Jammu Raj. During that period the Mughal governor of Lahore invaded Jammu. But the young commanders vanquished Mughal forces in the battle fought at Palaura near Jammu.

After the release of Ranjit Dev and his re-installation to the sovereignty of Jammu, both Rattan Dev and Chandan Dev went to the Delhi court, probably as hostages, and rendered meritorious services to the Mughal emperor. During this time Raja Sa'adat Khan of Khari-Khadiali rebelled and the Mughal emperor deputed Chandan Dev to suppress the rebellion. Chandan Dev tactfully brought the rebel chief to the allegiance of the court of Delhi. For this service the emperor conferred on him the title of 'Raja' and gave him the Akhnur state in *jagir*, which was an autonomous state under Raja Bidhi Singh. The Raja resided at Garh, whereas his commander-in-chief had his residence near Hari Mandir on the western bank of the Chenab, in the vicinity of which there was a watch tower guarded by a small garison. The former Ambaraiyan Parmar chiefs of Akhnur helped Chandan Dev. They crossed the Chenab on logs of wood bound together, stormed and occupied the watch tower and attacked Akhnur. Siddh Manalia, Bidhi Singh's commander, fought for six days but was eventually killed and Akhnur was occupied. But Raja Bidhi Singh resisted the invasion for

a long time. He got out of Garh, climbed a spur of the Kali Dhar and took positions at Kappa Gala defile where he continued the battle for six months but was forced to fly towards Daultanagar where he once again rallied his people. Chandan Dev brought Akhnur under his effective control and became its Raja. This probably happened about 1747. Soon after Raja Chandan Dev seems to have tendered his allegiance to Ranjit Dev.

But Raja Chandan Dev's authority did not remain unchallenged for long. His elder brother Rattan Dev had gone to his *jagir* of Riasi from where he was called to the Jammu Court and again appointed commander-in-chief of Jammu armies by Ranjit Dev. In that capacity he accompanied the heir-apparent Brijraj Dev on the expedition of Kashmir in the help of Ahmad Shah Durrani's officers. According to Sohan Lal, it was probably Rattan Dev who captured Raja Sukhjiwan Mal, the rebel governor of Kashmir in about 1753 A.D. Finding Raja Chandan Dev alone Raja Bidhi Singh, who had established himself as ruler in the western passes of Akhnur state with his headquarters at Daulatanagar, started encroachments on Akhnur territory and it led to frequent border forays. Finally it developed into a regular battle in which large number of men fell on both sides. Both the contending Rajas were also killed, but victory was bagged by Chandan Dev's forces and his son and successor, Raja Tegh Singh, occupied whole of the territory upto Karianwala. This battle was most probably fought in 1756 A.D.

Raja Chandan Dev was succeeded by his son, Raja Tegh Singh, who was only twelve years of age at the time of his father's death. He came to be a brave, intelligent and popular ruler. In about 1762 when he was eighteen years old a devastating famine broke out in the country. In order to help his famishing subjects he took in hand the construction of Akhnur fort and palace on the bank of the Chenab. The ruined towers and parapets of the fort are still standing in a precarious condition. He supplied food to the workers for about two years and saved his principality from the ravages of the famine.

The family tradition narrates another event of his reign which further proves his charitable disposition. It is said that once Ahmad Shah Durrani was carrying away fourteen hundred *Pandas* of Mathura, probably after his victory at the third battle of Panipat and forcing them to carry baggage. While he was coming on the bank of the Chenab, Raja Tegh Singh learnt of the fact. He offered twenty thousand rupees as ransom and got the *Pandas* released.

Raja Tegh Singh was subordinate to Maharaja Ranjit Dev whom he served as *Diwan* and counsellor and seems to have special

favour of Ranjit Dev. He mostly resided at Jammu and helped the Maharaja in administrative affairs. Ranjit Dev had two sons, Brijraj Dev from one queen was elder, whereas Dalel Dev, the younger, was born of the younger wife who was a great favourite with the Maharaj. Under her influence Ranjit Dev desired to decide the succession in favour of Dalel Dev. Raja Tegh Singh, however, prevailed upon him to change his mind on the ground that the family tradition of the Jamwals admitted the right of primogeniture which could not be set aside with impunity. Dalel Dev's mother became so much offended that she decided to do away with the Akhnuria Raja. She managed one day to administer him poison. But the Raja was saved by the occult powers of a *sadhu* who had his abode outside the Purani Mandi palace at Jammu. Ranjit Dev was so enraged at this action of his favourite queen that he broke off with both, the queen and her son. This further added fuel to the fire. Dalel Dev also came to the conclusion that there was no hope till Raja Tegh Singh lived. He, therefore, plotted to remove him by treachery, cultivated friendship with him and on one occasion while out on hunting towards Lakhanpur, stabbed him to death in his sleep. Ranjit Dev was much distressed at this news. He gave the *jagir* of Janganu to Dalel Dev and his mother and sent them away. This incident probably happened in 1776.

On Tegh Singh's murder, his son Raja Alam Singh succeeded to the *gaddi* of Akhnur. The new Raja was destined to witness unhappy days, as immediately after Ranjit Dev's death the Dogra court became a hotbed of intrigue which invited the invasions of marauding Sikh *misl*s. At the time Alam Singh was also led by the spirit of family feud. He avenged the murder of his father by killing Dalel Dev and his son Bagwan Singh in accomplice with Mian Mota, the *madar-ul-maham* or *wazir* of Jammu, in 1782. Soon after he lost the territory of Karianwala to the neighbouring Sikh *misl*. Later, in 1787, he had to acknowledge subjection to the powerful Sikh chief Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, whose son, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, subsequently sent his army of invasion under Sardar Sahib Singh from Manawar and conquered and annexed the Akhnur state to kingdom of Lahore in 1807. Only sixteen villages were left with Raja Alam Singh which came to be known as 'Sohal jagir' to which his eldest son Raja Itbar Singh succeeded after his death. Itbar Singh's son, Raja Nihal Singh was made to mark Raja Gulab Singh's forehead with *tilk* of his blood when the latter was anointed to the *Raj* of Jammu by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1822. The Maharaja also bestowed on Raja Nihal Singh the *jagir* of Sohal with twenty-three villages. He was the last Akhnuria chief to bear the title of

Raja. It is said that Raja Itbar Singh had earlier given shelter to Gulab Singh and his father Kishore Singh in his fort and helped them in their early days. When Gulab Singh was made Raja of Jammu in 1822 Akhnur state was made a part of Jammu Raj.

An interesting event of the days of Rai Kishora Pawar has been recorded in the Ambaraiyan annals which deserves to be mentioned here. The Pawar chief had a favourite *purohit wazir* whose close association with the Raja aroused the jealousy of other courtiers who sought to poison the ears of the Raja against his *purohit wazir*. The opportunity presented itself when the *wazir* went to Deva-Batala to fetch his bride. The courtiers cautioned the Raja that his *wazir* had gone to meet the Chibhali Rajas to get their aid to usurp the *gaddi*. A misunderstanding lodged in his heart and he ordered that the *wazir* should forthwith be brought to his presence. The *wazir* returned after considerable delay which further infuriated the Raja who decided to take proper action against him. When the *wazir* returned to Ambaran he became aware of the Raja's wrath. He, therefore, told his wife that his life is in danger but he had no other option than to go to the *darbar*. He further advised her that if she heard some noise or rue in the direction of the *darbar* she should understand that the Pawar ruler had got him killed and so she should become a *sati*. On the other side, some well-wisher of the *wazir* had told the whole truth to the Rai and had appeased him, so that as soon as the *wazir* presented himself before the Rai, the latter pardoned him for delay. But meanwhile some artillery mules shied and losing control started running helter skelter. A great noise for apprehending them rose up and the *wazir's* wife taking it as a signal for his death set fire to the whole mansion and threw herself in the flames. The Pawar Rai, his *wazir* and courtiers rushed to the scene. The fire was brought under control but the Brahmin woman could not be saved. The event proved a great calamity for the Pawar family. The murder of a Brahman woman was the worst curse and an acute mental agony for the Ambaraiyans, a large number of them deserted their homes, went to far off place like Gujrat, Sialkot, Pathankot, Kishtwar and Riasi to live in obscurity to escape the terrors of *brahma-hatya* (murder of a Brahman). Those who remained behind accepted her as family deity and started worshipping as 'Bua Trip', for Tripta was the personal name of that noble lady. The custom is prevalent in the Ambaran clan to this day. They have raised a shrine for her where a big fair is held every year on *nava ratra* days.

Chanehni State

Chanehni was a small state situated in the middle mountain ranges of the Himalayas to the north of Jammu. The Jammu-Banihal route to Kashmir passed through its territory. It was about twenty miles long and ten miles wide, bounded on the north by Kashtwar, on the east by Bhadrawah, on the south by Bhandralta and on the west by Bhoti and Bhau. In middle ages it was spread over a larger territory but during the nineteenth century it was reduced to a small subordinate *jagir* having an area of ninety-seven square miles and some forty-eight tiny villages, with an annual income of about fifty thousand rupees. Its capital Chanehni, a large, village lay on the right bank of the Tawi river. In early days the place was first called Chaka and later Chanderi. On 20th April 1783 the traveller G. Forster passed through Chanehni "a neat and populous town, situated on the brow of a hill; at the foot of which on the eastern side, runs a rapid stream, passing to the left"¹ At Chanehni the traveller was "taxed in the sum of a rupee for permission to cross the river Chinnaun (Chenab) which forms the western limit of this chiefship."²

1. Forster, George, Vol. 1, pp. 344-45.
2. *Ibid.*

About seventy years later, in 1842, Mr. G.T. Vigne, an English traveller passed through Chanehni, "a large and neat village, overlooked by the old palace.....of its legitimate Rajas." He further observes that the river Tawi had its sources in the mountains to the eastwards of it and came rattling down the ravine, which conducted its stream to the foot of the eminence on which the village was built and afterwards it flowed in a straight course, towards the plain. The rapidly descending hills towards south presented a superb sight to travellers from the heights of Chanehni. "So blue, so utterly boundless they appear," writes Vigne "that they might have been mistaken for the ocean, had not the silvery windings of the Tawi showed them to be terra-firma. Instead of a defined line, a misty indistinctness was blended over the sky and earth at the place of separation and I halted to enjoy a prospect that my fancy presented as something like a substantial emblem of infinity".³

"The mountain of Dodhera may be between eight and nine thousand feet above the sea and are covered with snow in winter ; that above Chinini is made picturesque by its fir forest ; the summit of the other is bare. A hollow, where there is a Sikh custom house, lies between them and slopes down to the great valley of the Chunab".⁴

The ancient name of the country was Himta or Hiunta, meaning "the snow country", as most of spurs of the mountain ranges in the area remained covered by snow for a larger part of the year. From this ancient name of the state the former ruling clan adopted the name of Hiuntal or Himtal which is now contracted Hantal. The state was divided into two portions, separated by the Dodhera or Ladha ka Dhar 9,558 feet from sea level, one in the upper Tawi valley south of it, and the other in the Chenab valley north of Ladha ka Dhar.

In addition to its capital town of Chanehni, which is of ancient origin, the state had two other sites of some historical antiquity ; the one is a small, picturesque lake or tank known of yore as Mantalai, around which a 'Siva-legend has been woven. It is said the Raja Himachal, father of Parvati ruled his kingdom from this mountain and when he married his daughter to Mahadeva (Siva) the *bedi* (marriage-altar) and *hawan-kund* (fire altar) were set up at Man-talai. Even to this day clay-toys are dug out from here now and then, which people believe, belong to the days of marriage of Siva and Parvati. The

3. Vigne, G.T., Vol. I, pp. 192-93.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

other site is the ancient Siva temple near the ancient nucleus of Mantalai, some ten miles to the south-east of the capital. This is a famous *tirtha* (place of pilgrimage), called Sudh Mahadeva. Some three miles north-west of the temple is a fountain called Gauri Kund after Parvati's original name, at which taking of bath prior to the pilgrimage of Sudh Mahadev, is considered particularly meritorious. A curious legend is attached to this place. It is said that in olden times a *Rakshash* (demon), named variously as Sudeva-daita⁵ or Sarlu⁶ used to reside there. He was very troublesome to the *Devatas*. They therefore appealed to Siva for a help and the great god hurled his trident at the demon with such a force that it not only killed him, but penetrated the earth upto the *patala* or the nether world. By the amalgamation of the name of Sudev with Mahadeva, this place acquired the popular appellation of Sudh Mahadeva, also contracted some times to Suddhi. The iron trident may still be seen in the temple of Sudh Mahadeva, standing six feet high above the ground, with a diameter of six inches. The upper part of the trident shaft has broken and lies near it on the ground.

The antiquity of the place and the trident is evident from the defaced inscription engraved on the broken shaft of the iron *Trishul*. The writing consists of only three lines and is only partially preserved. The language of inscription is Sanskrit and the characters belong to north-western variety of the Indian alphabet of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.⁷, or seventh century⁸, the latter conjecture being more probable. It mentions such rulers as Vibhunaga who also figures in another trident inscription at Gopeshwar, District Chamoli of Uttar Pradesh. The coins disclose names of some ten Naga rulers, including Vibhunaga and Ganapatinaga⁹, and some of these ruled in the north and north-western Punjab also. This inscription has been partially read as under :

- Test : 1. सिद्धम [I] स्वराज्य संवत्सरे पंच ल ..सत
2. बिभूनागस्य पुत्रे [ण]..... पतिना लोक (?)
3. गच्छन्ति ये तु क्षयं

Translation : "Success has been attained. In the year five..... of his own rule.....by the son of (Maharaja) Vibhunaga the lord of...

5. Nargis, Narsing Das, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, p. 244.

6. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 579.

7. Agrawal, Jagannath, "Suddh Mahadev Inscription of the son of (Maharaja) Vibhunaga," *V. I Paper Series- 194* Hoshiarpur 1967.

8. *Indian Archaeology 1969-71-A Review*, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1973, p. 47

9. Majumdar, R.C. and Altekar, A.S., *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, Reprint, Benaras, 1954, pp. 33-34.

.....(the benefactor of the) world.....but those who perish.....".¹⁰

The record though brief and imperfectly preserved is important for the reason that in that remote period "Suddh Mahadeva was regarded as a sacred place worthy of the visit by the king."¹¹ From this imperfect record it is not possible to surmise that Naga rulers had extended their sway upto these Middle Mountains during the later Gupta period.

The ruling family of Chanehni which uptill 1948 held a part of it as a *jagir*, claims Chandarbansi origin from the ancient royal line of Chanderi in Bundelkhand. Raja Sishupal, one of the heroes of the *Mahabharata* belonged to the Chandarbansi race and ruled in Chanderi. His descendants continued to rule in Chanderi and from this name derived their clan name of Chandel in later centuries. One of his descendants was named Raja Harihar who may have ruled about 800 A D. The tradition runs that probably during the ninth century Raja Harihar Chand of Chanderi, leaving one of his sons in charge of the ancestral state came on pilgrimage to Jawalamukhi with his other four sons, named Bir Chand, Gambir Chand, Kabir Chand and Sabir Chand. It is said that Raja Harihar Chand stayed with the Raja of Kangra (Trigarta) where his youngest son, Sabir Chand, was killed by a fall from his horse while engaged in a game of tent-pegging. This incident led to a quarrel with the Raja of Kangra and in that encounter Raja Harihar Chand was killed. Sometime after this his elder son, Bir Chand, founded the state of Kahlur (Bilaspur), and Kabir Chand established his rule in Kamban (Kumaun). The third brother, Gambir Chand, seems to have lived with Bir Chand at Kahlur.

During those centuries Jammu region, from the Ravi to the Jehlum seems to be under the sway of the *Thakuraian* or *Ranahun* polity, and as revealed by the annals of Basohli, Bhadarwah, Bandralta, Kashtwar, Jammu and Chanehni itself, whole of the territory was divided among hereditary petty local chiefs called *Rana* and *Thakkur*. The *Rajatarangni* also mentions the presence of powerful *Thakkur* families in Lohar-Rajapuri tract between the Chenab and the Jehlum. The descendant families of these *Ranas* and *Thakkurs* exist to this day in the Inner Mountains. At the same time, a ruling cum agricultural class of people called Megh had also entered the Hills, possessed themselves of large agricultural tracts in the region and established their rule here and there. The founders of Jammu and several other Hill states of this region were confron-

10. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

11. ‡ Agrawal, Jagannath, *op. cit.*,

ted by these Meghs at the time of migrating to these hills. Channehni historical tradition also confirms this fact and mentions the mutual hostility of the local *Ranas* and the Megh leader. It happened soon after the foundation of Kahlur (Bilaspur), that a petty chief of Megh caste came there from Hunta to help the Raja against some of the petty chiefs, i.e., *Ranas* of Rajput caste who looked down on him because he was a Megh and sought to drive him away. Raja Bir Chand could not leave his newly established kingdom, he therefore, sent his brother, Gambir Chand at the head of an army to help the Megh chief who had his headquarter at Mantalai or Old Himat, some distance to the present town of Chanehni. On arriving in these Hills Gambir Chand fought with the *Ranas* and *Thakurs* and vanquished them with the help of the Megh *Thakur*, who then made over to him all his territory also and became his subject. Gambir Chand thus founded the Hiunta or Himta State which later came to be known as Chanehni after its new capital founded by this Chandel ruling house.

The annals of Kahlur (Bilaspur) State corroborate this tradition current in Chanehni according to which Bir Chand conquered a territory for himself from the local rulers in the Satluj valley and settled on its left bank. His next brother has been named Gobind Chand who migrated to Jammu Hills and founded Chanehni State¹¹. Hutchison and Voghel conclude that Kahlur State was founded about A.D. 900. "The Rajas of Bilaspur, however, seem to have been a long lived race, and it is possible that an earlier date should be assigned for the foundation of the state."¹² Chanehni State was founded a few years after that of Kahlur (Bilaspur). The Chanehni *Vansavali* contains the names of forty-five Chiefs from its foundation to its overthrow in 1822, and allowing an average rule of twenty-five years to each, we may conclude that the state was founded in the early part of the eighth century. At a later period, Hindur (Nalagarh) State was founded by a cadet of the Bilaspur family, and all these three states are from a common origin, a fact recorded in their *Vansavalis*.

Raja Gambir Chand had first made a place near Mantalai, probably named Chaka, his capital. After sometime he is said to have founded a village after the name of his Chandel clan and named it Chanderi and made it his capital. The name afterwards became corrupted into Chanahan and then to Chanehni. The *Vansavali* gives the following line of succession after Raja Gambir

11. Charak, S.D.S., *History and Culture of Himalyan States*, Vol. II, 191.

12. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 496.

Chand, Sansar Chand, Abhir Chand, Purab Chand, Bhup Chand, Narsingpal, Agam Pal, Sidh Pal, Hathi Pal, Gayan Pal, Sassi Pal, Dharm Pal, Devi Pal, Daryodhan Pal, Jodh Chand, Hari Chand, Bajar Chand, Bhag Chand, Sushil Chand, Hamir Chand, Bhul Chand, Udey Chand. Udey Chand had three sons, Tarlok Chand, Bhagat Chand and Begam Chand. Tarlok Chand became Raja. He was succeeded to the *gaddi* by Dip Chand, Gangar Chand, Ajay Chand, Ganay Chand, Abir Chand, Madan Chand, Agam Chand II, Sobhan Chand, Sumer Chand and Mir Chand, one after the other.

We possess no material for detailed information about these except their names contained in the *Vansavali* of the Chanehni Rajas. The state is not referred to in the Muhammadan records, nor in any contemporary documents which have been recovered from these Hills. It is obvious that the state had a very small tenure of independence, and like most of the Hill States around, Chanehni too have been in close association with, and subject to Jammu from a comparatively early period. Chanehni too was under subjection of the Mughals from the time of Akbar when his officers conquered and subjugated Jammu and Jasrota in 1594 A.D. It may also have been involved in the two rebellions of Hill chiefs in A.D. 1588-89 and 1594-95, though its Rajas do not find mention among those of Hill States who tendered their allegiance and offered *nazarana* to Emperor Akbar.

The successor of Raja Mir Chand was his son, Raja Ram Chand who is hero of an interesting legend concerning Sudh Mahadev temple and the iron *Trishul*. Ram Chand is said to have ruled for thirty years, probably from A.D. 1580 to 1610, and was contemporary of Emperor Akbar. In the *Vansavali* he is thirty-second in descent from Gambir Chand. Once he was encamped at Sudh Mahadev and he thought of investigating the truth of the legend about the *trisul*. He ordered his men to dig up the *trisul* and the work was carried on for two days. On the third night the Raja had a dream, that on the following morning a piece of iron would fall from the top of the trident and a *saligrama* would appear. Of this piece of iron he was asked to make a sword, and he was also enjoined to worship daily the *saligrama* which should appear. He was also informed that the sword would possess this special property, that it would foretell victory or defeat in time of war. If placed under all the weapons and it came above them of itself, then victory was assured, otherwise defeat would befall the State. The Raja was also commanded to build a temple for an image of Shiva which would appear the following day.

Next morning things happened as dreamt, a piece of iron fell from the top of the trident and an image emerged from it, which is known as Lakshmi Damodar. A farmer also came with the news that while ploughing in his field he saw an idol buried there. The Raja then stopped the digging, and had a sword made from the piece of iron. He constructed a temple for the image which is known to this day as Sudh Mahadev. It is situated on the eastern border of the State, some ten miles east of Chanehni. A fire in the temple, which was first kindled by a *jogi*, named Sarup Nath is kept continually burning, and the ashes of the *dhoni* are never removed, as it is regarded as inauspicious to do so.

This sword is said to have remained in possession of the Rajas of Chanehni for several generations, and by the "miracle of the sword" the Rajas were able to foretell victory or defeat in battle. Their services were much in demand on this account among the neighbouring States.¹³

When Raja Ram Chand died in about A.D. 1610, he was succeeded by his son Raja Jalal Chand who added some territories to the principality inherited from his father. After him ruled Anirudh Chand, Garhmal Chand, Sen Chand, Jai Chand and Gaggay Chand. The last named Raja had many sons of whom five became ancestors of five different houses. Then the *gaddi* passed to Raja Bhupal Chand, son of the last named Raja.

RAJA SHAMSHER CHAND

About A.D. 1760 Shamsheer Chand, son of Bhupal Chand, succeeded to the *gaddi* of Chanehni. He finds frequent mention in Jammu annals. He was a contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Dev to whom he was subordinate. Ahmad Shah Durrani then ruled the Punjab which had been ceded to him by the Emperor of Delhi in 1752. He appointed Raja Sukhjiwan Mal as governor of Kashmir after conquering the country the same year with the help of Ranjit Dev. But soon after Sukhjiwan revolted and became independent. Ahmad Shah Durrani sent a force against him in 1764 with a contingent from Ranjit Dev, and Shamsheer Chand was called upon to accompany the Jammu army with his contingent. The expedition was successful, Sukhjiwan was defeated and captured. Raja Shamsheer Chand was rewarded with a *jagir* in Kashmir for these Services. This *jagir* remained in possession of Chanehni Rajas till the conquest of the Kashmir valley by Ranjit Singh in 1819.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 580.

Samsher Chand 'Hantal' of Chanehni was called upon to join another expedition recorded in the *Brijraj Panchasika*. Chamba and Kangra States had long been disputing the possession of the *ilaqa* of Pathiyar near Palampur in the Kangra Valley. It had been claimed as of Chamba since very ancient days but had been wrested by Kangra from time to time. After the cession of the Punjab to the Durranis in 1752 the Hill Chiefs had resumed their independence and siezed by force any territory of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule. The Mughals had granted Pathiyar *ilaqa* to the Raja of Chamba which was recovered by Raja Ghammand Chand of Kangra. At the *ilaqa* had been in the possession of Chamba for several generations, it was claimed as state territory, but its Raja, Raj Singh, being a minor, could not fend for himself. The queen-mother, a sister of Ranjit Dev, appealed to her brother for help in recapturing the fort of Pathiyar. The help was sent forthwith. A strong army was mobilised under the command of the heir-apparent, Brijraj Dev, which was joined by Shamsher Chand Hantal of Chanehni, Azmat Dev of Mankot, Amrit Pal of Basohli, Ratan Dev of Jarota and Jai Singh of Bandralta.¹⁴ On arrival at Raja-ka-talab in Nurpur State, the Jammu army was joined by Raja Prithvi Singh of that State and in Kangra by Gobind Chand of Datarpur and Raj Singh of Chamba. Raja Ghammand Chand and his associates, the Jaswal Chief, had encamped at Kalesar. On seeing such a formidable combination against him, he took to flight without offering battle, and the Pathiyar fort was recovered and the *ilaqa* was restored to Chamba.¹⁵

It was then believed that this bloodless victory was due to that wonderful sword which Raja Shamsher Singh carried with him. This fact brought about his sad end on his way back to Chanehni. Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur, son-in-law of Ranjit Dev, was keen on securing this miraculous sword. He secretly followed Shamsher Chand and fell upon him unawares at a place called Nala Daohda¹⁶, near Jandrah, while engaged in worshipping the *Saligrama*. "On being told of the approach of the Nurpur army, and probably knowing the purpose with which it was pursuing him, Shamsher Chand resorted to the sword for an omen of success or failure. On its failing to rise as usual above the other arms, he knew that his end had come, and continued his *puja* till despatched by the

14. *H P H S*, Vol. II, p. 582.

15. *Brijraj Panchasika*, Slokes 8 and 9. See S.D.S. Charak, *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol IV, Appendix, p. 334.

16. *Brijraj Panchasika*, *op. cit.*, *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 98.

enemy.”¹⁷ The Raja of Nurpur thus secured the sword and the *Saligrama*, and the latter was placed in one of the temples at Nurpur. As a mark of resentment to this treachery the Hantals did not visit that temple. About the sword it is narrated the Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli somehow got it from the Nurpur Chief and since then nothing has been heard about it.

This event made the Hantal tribe deadly enemies of Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur and swore vengeance on that chief. They gave a call to arms to all their clansmen, and the whole Hill area was agitated over the affair so that a bloody battle seemed imminent. However, on intercession by Ranjit Dev the Hantals were pacified but they took an oath not to visit the temple where the *Saligrama* had been kept and to observe *Chhinna* (Social boycott) with the Pathanias.

Shamsher Chand extended Chanehni State to its widest limits. He got a *jagir* for the family in the Kashmir Valley. He had four sons from his two Ranis. The eldest, Kishor Chand succeeded him to the *gaddi*. Kishor Chand had only one son named Tegh Chand. The latter left only one daughter so his widow sought recognition of her daughter's right to succeed. Mian Bissu, the girl's cousin supported her claim which was contested by Dayal Chand, son of Jahagar Chand. In the quarrel that ensued, Mian Bissu was killed, and Dayal Chand then succeeded to the *gaddi*.

RAJA DAYAL CHAND

This internecine strife cost much to the State. It lost the *jagir* of Martand in Kashmir which Raja Shamsher Chand had received from Ahmad Shah Durrani as mentioned above. Taking advantage of the family strife the Raja of Bhoti State laid siege to Chorgalla Fort, on the Ladha Dhar. The fort had a garrison of only thirty Rajputs and relief could not be sent. Still they held out as long as was possible, but had at last to face death or surrender, and they decided to fight to the last. They threw open the gates and sallied out in great fury and slew a number of the enemy, and the rest taken by surprise fled away precipitately. “This gave rise to the popular saying, ‘One Himtal is worth seven Bhatials.’”¹⁸

Soon after this Sikhs had begun their inroads into the Jammu Hills and in the first decade of the nineteenth century Jammu and

17. Nargis, NarSing Dass, *Turikh-i-Dogra Des*, p. 246. *H P H S* has ‘Dadand’, Cf. p. 582.

18. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 379.

19. *H P H S*, Vol. II, p. 582.

the surrounding territory had gone under Maharaja Ranjit Singh's sway. But Chanehni was probably subjugated later when the Jammu family had risen in Ranjit Singh's favour. By 1822 Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh had been made Rajas and Dhian Singh had become Prime Minister of the Sikh State. Jammu and Bhoti were given to Gulab Singh as a *Raj* and Bandralta as fief to Raja Suchet Singh. The ancient line of rulers of these States had been deposed and expelled. Foreseeing danger, Dayal Chand ordered the fort of Shivgarh, on the eastern frontier, to be made ready for defence. He had assisted Raja Gulab Singh in the attack on Kashtwar, as Vigne tells us, but this did not save him from a similar fate. Raja Suchet Singh had gone on pilgrimage to Sudh Mahadev, and on his way back he annexed Marothi, a village on the eastern border of Chanehni. Raja Dayal Chand becoming alarmed made preparations for defence, and Suchet Singh, on learning this, invaded the State from Ramnagar with the help of a Sikh force to which the Chanehni Raja could offer no resistance. Having transferred his family and valuables with a large number of women and children of the town to the strong fort of Shivgarh among the mountains, he hurried off to Lahore, and succeeded in gaining the favour of the Maharaja and obtained permission to remain. Meanwhile Suchet Singh sacked the town of Chanehni and set the palace on fire.²⁰

Raja Dayal Chand returned from Lahore with a *farman*, addressed to Gulab Singh, for the restoration of the State to him and permit him to reside in his home. He was made to stay at Jammu for about two months where both Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh showed him great respect. Finally Gulab Singh accompanied him to Udhampur where an agreement was struck between the parties in the temple of Sri Mahadev and peace and friendship was restored.²¹ Raja Dayal Chand was, however, restored to a truncated state. It was probably shorn of its three *ilaqas*, *ilaqa* Kotla and Nagulta on the left bank of the river Tawi had been usurped by Raja Suchet Singh, Batoti and Udhampur *ilaqas* were annexed to Jammu and Rudhar on the eastern border, was taken over by Raja Dhian Singh. Only Chanehni proper with Malwana *ilaqa* fell to the share of Raja Dayal Chand. Later on, Raja Dhian Singh restored the Rudhar *ilaqa*. Whole of this territory restored to Dayal Chand formed the Chanehni *jagir* which became abolished in 1948. The Chanehni Rajas continued to reside in their ancient capital as

20. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 380; *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 583.

21. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

subordinate *jagirdars* to Jammu. In 1839 Mr. G.T. Vigne passed through Chanehni and noticed that "The territories of the Chinnini Rajah extended from Dodhara on the northward and southward to the village of Bari."²²

Raja Dayal Chand died in 1853 A. D. and was succeeded to the *gaddi* by his eldest son Gajender Chand. The latter had two sons, Badri Chand and Kidar Chand. When Gajender Chand died in 1880, Badri Chand became Raja, but he died after two years without any issue, so the *gaddi* passed to Kidar Chand who was a minor, so the administration of the State was run by a court of ward for some years before the Raja was restored to full powers. He exercised powers of a first-class magistrate in criminal cases and performed functions of class-one *munsif* in revenue and civil affairs within his *jagir*; and all the political and financial work was carried out under his orders. The same position was held by his successor, Raja Ram Chand, till the abolition of the *jagir* and its merger in Jammu Province by the Emergency Government headed by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in 1948.²³

Raja Kidar Chand was married in 1894 to the daughter of Raja Sir Amar Singh and the Chanehni family was thus related to the Jammu royal family. Kidar Chand had three sons, Ram Chand, Jai Chand and Tirath Chand, and a daughter who was married to Raja Lachhman Singh of Ramkot *jagir*. The three *rajkumars* received education and training from a tutor appointed by Maharaja Pratap Singh, Later Ram Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* and the other two *raj kumars* served the Maharaja on high posts. The last days of Chanehni *jagir* were marked by political unrest led by some local leaders and some workers of the newly founded National Conference.

In its last days the *jagir* consisted of 47 villages, of which seven were held in proprietary rights by the *illaqadar*. It was bounded on the north by Ramban, on the east and west by Udhampur and on the south by Ramnagar : The population of the *jagir* according to the census of 1941 was 11,796. The total revenue of the *jagir* including cesses and gazing fee was about Rs. 26,000 annually. The forest products added another twelve thousand rupees to the income in addition to Rs. 2,500 from other sources, the total receipts from all the sources were Rs. 65,800 for the year 1944-45 whereas expenditure amounted to over Rs. 54,000. There were three schools

22. Vigne, G.T., Travels.

23. Kahan Singh, Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-51; *HPHS* Vol. II, pp. 583-84; Nargis, Narsing Dass, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

in the *jagir* where education was imparted upto middle standard. The Raja continued to exercise the powers of a District Magistrate and Sessions Judge on the executive and criminal side. Appeals lie to and revisional supervision vested in the High Court of Judicature of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Raja's orders on the revenue matters were final. He had a *Wazir* to assist him in administering the affairs of *Jagir*.²⁴ After abolition of *jagirdari* system in 1948, Chanehni *jagir* was converted into a *niabat* attached to Udhampur District and a small annual pension was awarded to Raja Ram Chand.

24. *Annual Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State* for the year 1944-45, pp. 144-45.

Section 3

BALAOR-BASOHLI STATE ***And Its offshoots***

- 1. BALAOR-BASOHLI STATE**
- 2. BHADRAWA STATE**
- 3. BHADU STATE**

Balawar-Basohli State

A : DESCRIPTIVE

Balawar or Balaor, originally Vallapura was one of the oldest and important States of the Dugar group of principalities of the Jammu region. Vallapura, so oftenly mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*¹, was the capital of the State until A.D. 1630 when Raja Man Shakkiya, eighth in descent from the founder of the State, shifted his capital to Basohli. Before this event the State was called Vallapura after the name of its capital. The name had already been corrupted in popular nomenclature to Ballawar by the time of Alberuni² who located the town in the middle of Dahmala (Dhammeri=Nurpur) and Ladda. The ruling family, therefore, derived its name from the ancient capital and came to be called Balawaria and retained

1. Kalhana : *Rajatarangini*, BK. vii, Vs. 220, 558; BK-viii, Vs. 540, 547-550, 1083, 1444, 2452; M.A. Stein (Eng. tr.) Vol, II, p. 432.
2. Sachau, E. C. (tr.) : *Alberuni's India*, London, 1914, p. 205, gives the following route : Marching from Kanoj to n.-n'-w. : Shirsharaha, 50 forsang, Pinjaur, 18. f, Dahmala the capital of Jalandhar, at the foot of mountains, 18 f., Ballawar, 10 f.; thence marching westward, Ladda, 13 f., the fortress Rajagiri, 8 f. thence northwards Kashmir, 25 f.

this name even when the name of the State was changed to Basohli due to the transfer of its capital to this new locality in 1630 A.D.

The extent of the State seems to have varied from time to time. During its latest existence it spread over a hilly surface of more than one thousand and seven hundred square miles in area and was bounded on the north by Bhadarwa and Bandralta (Ramnagar), on the east by Chamba, on the south-east by Nurpur, on the south by Lakhanpur, and by Jasrota and Ramkot (Mankot) on the west.³ In width it was about thirty miles, from the Talhani nullah upto Nagrota, and about 50 miles in length from the border of Lakhanpur to the Chhattar Dhar on the frontier of Bhadarwa⁴. In ancient times the State was more extensive and it included the principalities of Bhadarwa and Bhadu as well as the *jagir* of Sumarta which branched off from Vallapura State on different occasions.

The ancient capital of Vallapura is said to have been founded by Raja Bhog Pal, the first ruler of the line who was a Tomar Rajput of Lunar race (*Chandravansi*), a descendant of the Pandavas. Bhog Pal left Almora and travelled through Haridwar, Jawala Mukhi and Nurpur and reached the desolate where now Balawar is situated. It was an uninhabited jungle in which he saw a Mahadeva temple said to have been built by the Pandavas during their exile. Considering it a sacred place he built a village there and named it Billawar after the 'Billava' tree⁵ found there in abundance and considered sacred to god Siva to whom its leaves are offered even to this day. The attribution of this name finds some support from the

3. Kahan Sing Balaoria, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, Vol. I, V.S. 1969 (A.D. 1912), p. 9.
Archer, W.G., *Miniature Paintings from the Punjab Hills* Vol. I,
4. Kahan Singh Balauria, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
5. Kahan Singh Balauria, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, analyses some more traditions concerning the origin of the name of the State and its capital. The more popular is that of Billo-rana who is supposed to be the master of the place on the arrival of Bhog Pal from whom the latter conquered the place and re-named it after the vanquished chief. However, the naming of a place after the name of a defeated enemy is unthinkable. Another tradition avers that the village was founded by one Bali Than Pal and hence came to be called Balipura which in due course of time changed to Balaor. This too seems untenable. The name of Bhog Pal's father was Than Pal and not Bali Than Pal. Moreover, he never came to these hills. The logic of the origin of name becomes clear from references in the *Rajatarangini* to three States—Brahmapura, Babbapura and Vallapura. The first two have now been changed to Brahmaor and Babaor, and similarly the origin of Balaor from Vallapura is quite tenable. The point which tradition leaves unanswered is why it came to be called Vallapura?

fact that there is an ancient stone temple there still in use, dedicated to Siva under the name of Bilvakesvar, also called Harihar. However, the old name of the place recorded in the *Rajatarangini* is Vallapura which has obviously little to do with the 'Billava' tree. Balaor, once the magnificent capital of the Balauria Rajas who dominated all the hill states in the neighbourhood except Chamba, is now a small "town and contains a bazar with some mean-looking" shops, but the whole place has the appearance of decay.⁶ It is situated at the foot of a brushwood-covered spur of hill, overlooking the bouldery bed of the Bhini river, about a mile wide, joined by two nullahs descending from the two sides of the spur. There are remains of ancient towers and walls that protected the place, some towards the jungle, some at the edge of the cliff overhanging the river, while there is an old gateway at the top of the slope, that gave access from below. The *Mahal* or mansion, though substantially built, was not large, and was built by the Balawaria Rajas⁷ during Mughal period. Above the palace is a masonry tank which seems also to date back to Mughal period. It was completely re-built about A. D. 1890 and is said to have contained a *Nagari* inscription with a date in the *Shastra* or *Lokakala* era, which was also lost during the repairs.⁸ These ruins of the so-called palaces at the upper end of the town are very ordinary structures of "no architectural merit, and do not possess even the distinction of spaciousness, like the Basohli palaces."⁹ They are in utter ruin, only a few crumbling walls standing in imminent danger of coming to the ground.

A fine medieval temple in a half-ruined state, but still in use, is an impressive piece of architecture an evidence of great antiquity of the place. It is commonly known as Harihar Temple held specially sacred to Siva. "It consists of a square sanctum crowned by a 'Sikhara, with a porch in front and a *mandapa* beyond it. The spire is profusely ornamented externally, the ornament consisting mainly of floral scrolls, flower and vase decoration, and niches with stepped pedimental roofs filled with decorative lozenges and figures of gods. A pleasing contrast of light and shade is produced by the re-entering angles of three offsets on each side."¹⁰ The idol in the niche on the

6. Voghel, J. Ph. : *Antiquities of Chamba State*, App. ii, pp. 262-65.

7. Drew, F. : *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, 1875, p. 84.

8. J.P.H.S., Vol. IV, No. 2. Calcutta, 1916, pp. 80-81.

9. Kak, Ram Chandra : *Antiquities of Basohli and Ramnagar*, Reprinted, New Delhi, 1972, p. 13.

10. *Ibid*, pp. 10-11

external face of the southern wall of the porch is that of 'Siva. Of the *mandapa* only the north and a part of the west wall are still standing. The old fallen materials have been used in construction of a low rough wall on the east side. In this can be seen a square slab with lotus resette which must have been the central portion of the ceiling. Originally the roof of the *mandapa* was supported on four pillars with plain round shafts, of which only the one on the north-east side is still standing. Of the other three only the bases are now in situ.¹¹

Nothing is known about the past history of this important temple which tradition ascribes to the Pandavas and is said to have been destroyed by the troops of Babar. It is undoubtedly of great age. Judging from the style of the sculpture and embellishment R. C. Kak ascribes it to about 1000 A. D.,¹² The space around the temple is shaded by large banyan trees.

Basohli, the later capital, which gave its name to the State after 1630 A. D., is situated on a low spur overlooking the river Ravi, where it debouches from the mountains into the Punjab plains, and consisted of a long straggling bazar, running south for nearly a mile from the palace. Among the hill chiefs the Balauria Rajas of Basohli, though their possessions were not extensive, enjoyed some consideration as patrons of art and learning. They have left behind rare specimens of art in miniatures and monuments, and while Basohli miniatures survived and grew in estimation of art connaissures, their magnificent palaces, so conspicuous among all the buildings of Basohli, and still form the most prominent landmark in the whole surrounding country, are utterly in ruins. It is a spacious structure which has recently decayed at a very rapid space. "Thus, practically all the woodwork has been removed and employed in the construction of the school and the Tahsil buildings. In consequence of this all the roofs have collapsed and have brought down a great many of the walls along with them; indeed, the outer walls are practically all that now remain standing of the large palace."¹³ However, till the middle of the nineteenth century the palace was in good shape and possessed such a "baronical appearance" that G. T. Vigne who saw it in 1842 A. D., thought "the very finest building of the kind he had seen in the East."¹⁴ Its

11. J. P. H. S., Vol IV No. 2, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80 ; *Antiquities of Chamba State*, App. ii, pp. 262-265; R. C. Kak, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
12. Kak, Ram Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
13. *Ibid*, p. 2.
14. Vigne, G. T., *Travels in, Kashmir, etc.*, London, 1842, Vol. I, pp. 17-18.

erection is ascribed to Raja Amrit Pal (A. D. 1757-1782) and indeed "the debased Indo-Mughal style of the edifice itself points to the 18th century as the period when it must have been built."¹⁵

"Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese roofed balconies and moat-like tank in front presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red-brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jammu it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower ranges, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peaks, which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around it, are sufficient to render its relative position immensely superior."¹⁶ J. C. French also saw the decaying palace in 1931 and observed that "The position of Basohli on a steep hill, girt with rocky precipices overlooking a broad and swiftly flowing river, crowned by one of the loveliest palaces in the hills (for such was Basohli a hundred years ago) and the whole scene framed in the Himalayan snows, justified its claim to be one of the seven Wonders of the Hills. But while the work of nature is unchanged, the work of man has altered."¹⁷

R. C. Kak gives the following description of the palace¹⁸ complex.

"The palace is built on a ridge overlooking the town. The main entrance which faces the town is an unpretentious archway. It leads to a large room which is known as the Durbar (Audience) Hall. Beyond it are three rooms, over which stood what was known as the Shish Mahall (Hall of Mirrors). These apartments faced the courtyard on the inside.

"The palace was divided into three portions : the open court on the north side facing the Chinjloh fort and a couple of buildings facing the central courtyard. These seem to have been intended for public and official purposes. They comprise a Durdar Hall on the South side and Rang Mahall (Painted Palace, now no longer existing except in name) on the west. On the east side, at a higher level, are the ruins of a set of buildings and tanks which were probably set apart for the retainers and other satellites of the court. On the north side are a number of better preserved rooms facing

15. J. P. H. S., Vol IV, No. 2, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80.

16. Vigne, G.T., *Travels*, 1842, Vol. I, pp. 171-172.

17. French, J. C. : *Himalayan Art*, London, 1932, pp. 39, 43,

18. *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VII, No. 2,

the Chinjloh fort, which probably were the Rajas' apartments. There are some underground cellars here, one of which is open at the top and seems to have been a prisoner's cell. There is a small entrance to the quadrangle on this side also. The gypsum plaster on the walls of these chambers and the painted decoration are still comparatively fresh.

"To the west of this building, which is known as the Naughara Mahal (New-built Palace), is a Purana Mahall (Old Palace), which probably served as the Zanana. In this building are two *hammam*. (Turkish bath) rooms. The chamber adjacent to these is ornamented with a coat of gypsum plaster covered with painted decorative designs. The dado is painted in shining dark vermilion, with trees and birds marked out in white. Facing these apartments are the kitchen garden and the kitchen premises. Behind these latter and facing the Rang Mahall is a large garden, in the middle of which a covered passage leads to the well below. Water to the well was admitted by an open archway from the larger tank lower down."

The other noticeably architectural feature of Basohli are the two small forts built on the hillocks on both sides of the town. These are very small structures resembling watch towers, with circular bastions, now quite delapidated, at every corner. There is a tank in the tower near the town where rain water was stored for domestic use.

Religion. The religion of the people and rulers of Basohli was a sort of pantheistic Hinduism like those of all the hill states around. People worshipped the two chief gods of Hindu pantheon, Siva and Vishnu, around which faith in numerous minor gods, goddesses and household deities and spirits was woven. The remains of ancient shrines reveals the predominance of Saivism in the Basohli hills coupled with an equal adoration for Visnu. The Bilvakesvara temple now called Harihara temple testifies to the predominance of Siva worship reconciled at some date to the worship of Visnu and Brahama. The chief idols enshrined in this ancient temple at Balaur are those of Siva, Ganesa and five-headed Linga, all symbols of Saivism ; an image of Visnu in round (lower half of the body missing) with three heads (man's, lion's and boar's); and another of pot-bellied Brahma, bearded and wearing a rosary. There is also a broken bull of lime-stone which bore the figure of Siva on its back, "as is evidenced by the fragmentary flower garland." A large defaced crude figure of Bhairava, with "dishevelled locks hanging on either shoulder, serpents on his neck, a sword pointed downwards in his right hand, a cup of blood

in his left, and a dog behind"¹⁹ completes the iconography of Siva legend.

Two small temples at Basohli, located on the way down to the Ravi and the Visvesara cave, though of much later date, belong to Saiva faith. The one is a siva temple, containing a crude figure of Ganesa in low relief over the doorway with a Tantric formula. "Om hram hram phat om," to its left and a *linga* and a crude figure of a bull inside. On the right side of the doorway is a Bhairava and a dog in a shallow niche and a doubtful figure of Hanuman to the left. Lower down this temple is a small shrine of Paravati containing a crude image of that goddess. Just below it is a large image of Kali brandishing a sword and riding a tiger out of the rock.

The rock cave shrine of Basohli also represent medley of deities. The largest cave known as Visvesara contains on one of its walls a large carved image in relief of Raja Visva Raina, the reputed founder of Basohli. In the middle of the 11-feet square cave there is a Sivalinga on a circular *pitha* carved out of the rock. There is also a small eight-armed marble image of Annapurna, beside a couple of crude figures of Rakshasas and lions. Below the cave are a couple of figures of bulls, a small *linga* on a *pitha*, Brahma and one of Hanuman holding a mace and another of Nandi. There is also the figure of a four-armed Bhairava carved on the face of a rock. There are shallow caves of which that of Sitala the goddess of small-pox is well frequented. There are a few small shrines between the palace and the town of which the temple of Chamunda is of significance. The image in this shrine is a piece of natural rock, whose viens have become prominent by the softer parts being washed away under the constant pouring of water. An image of Vishnu is also kept in this shrine.

At Mahadhera, a small village near Basohli there is a Siva temple with more ornamented sides containing a carved frieze depicting human figures and deities such as Vishnu riding a Garuda, Durga on a lion, Vishnu wearing a *mandara-mala*. In a circular medallion is a shiva with three faces. The jambs of doorways are carved with figures of seated gods and demons, including those of Ganga, Ganesa and bull.

At another village Mahanpur there are two older temples, one dedicated to Siva and the other to Jagadamba or Kali. On its door jambs are the figures of two *dvarapalas* armed with spears.

19. *Ibid.*

Above one of the *dvarapalas* is Krishna playing flute, and above the other is carved the figures of Siva riding on his bull, and four-headed Brahma, with a figure of Ganesa in the middle of the lintel of the doorway. The temple was built in A.D. 1526 according to the Tankri inscription²⁰ carved in front. There is also a *Thakur-dvara* built by Maharaja Gulab Singh and dedicated to Siva. The village Nuni also contains a similar Siva temple. At Nagrota Prithipal there is a small shrine of Narasimha and a *smadhi* of a saint Pandit Lachhi Ram built by Raja Suchet Singh. The village Gurnal near Ballaur contains a temple which has chief object for worship a piece of rock representing the Goddess Vindhyavasini, placed in a shallow *pranali* on the floor. There are also a few fragmentary images among which are recognisable those of Vishnu, four-armed Bhairava and a pair of feet with a *trisula* in the middle. On one of the stone slabs lying in the courtyard is a figure in high relief of Garuda; the upper part of its body is human, the lower half is that of a bird. In place of arms it has wings and it has a bird's tail, wears a necklace, and is known as "Laukara Bir".

B. HISTORICAL

The main source for the history of Balauria rulers is the *Vansavali* which according to the ancient tradition, was successively written in Sanskrit by the hereditary *purohit* or priestly family of the royal house who were also its custodians. However, the original Sanskrit work is not available. The two vernacular (Hindi) versions in the possession of the family are most unreliable due to careless transcription and slightly differ from each other. These seems to have been rendered by an ignorant person. It starts from the mythological heroes and traces the descent of the family of Balorias from the Pandvas. The ancient state has also been referred to for a couple of times in the *Rajatarangini* as well as in the Muhammadan histories of 16th and 17th centuries. After these, and a few centuries earlier, Basohli affairs became subject of Takari correspondence between the surrounding Rajas, particularly of Chamba, Nurpur, Kangra and Jammu. These records also throw a good deal of light on the later history of the state which also finds mention in a couple of inscriptions. The Baloria rulers of 17th and

20. The inscription runs : Sam. 1583 sm. Sri Devi da dehra Sri Gutai. Suraj Gir da Chela Gusain Lal Gir Panchagni ka rae Raja Sri Rai Man Singh da batedha Kirpalu Chodhri Mal. Likhtam Shavala Jandheali

18th centuries have been fairly represented in miniature printings of Basohli and other hill states which help us in ascertaining their dates and other facts. Finally, there is the vernacular history of hill states by Thakur Kahan Singh Baloria who has taken special pains to compile annals of the Baloria family to which he himself belonged. "The result of his labours are to be found in his book, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*"²¹. The copper-plate deeds in Chamba State and Balor and the ancient monuments and archaeological remain are also useful for constructing historical account of the state.

The one great deficiency in these sources is the lack of chronology for earlier period, at least before Tong Pal whose conjectural date is given in the *Vikrami Samvat*. Whatever dates are given for many of the subsequent reigns are not accurate, and the historical material at our disposal does not admit of more scientific chronology. The earlier history given in the *Vansavali* follows the *Pauranic* genealogy of the house of the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata* fame or the lunar race (*Chandra-vansi*). Starting from Moon, the first ancestor of the *Chandravansi* Pandavas, it carries the account down to the *Mahabharata* War, and then from Parikshit, the successor of the Pandavas at Hastanapur, the narration is brought down to his 42nd, successor, named Raja Than Pal. The legendary account is only a formal part of the narration which reaches firm historical ground with the advent of Raja Than Pal who ruled at Prayag or Allahabad which was the earliest seat of the family. From there they migrated to the hills of Almora, and then crossed the Ganga and conquered Mayapuri or Hardwar.

Raja Than Pal died soon after, leaving behind two minor sons, of whom *Bhog Pal* the elder became the ancestor of the Balorias. Driven out of their kingdom, the minor prince lived in obscurity till Bhog Pal came of age and he left in search of a fortune, travelled through the Siwalik hills and came to the spot where the present Balaor town stands. From the few Gaddis encamped there he learnt about a temple there built by the Pandava brothers during their exile. He settled down at this place, conquered the Rana of that place, named Billo, with the help of his followers and brought the scanty²² population around under his submission. Thus were laid the foundations of the ancient Vallapura state.

Due credence may be given to this event, as the foundations of all the hill states were laid down in similar circumstance. At the same time this tradition finds mention in the *Vansavalis* of

21. *JPHS.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 77.

22. Kahan Singh Balauria, Thakur : *op. cit.* pp. 48-49.

Kulu State which was another offshoot of the Mayapuri house, and also in those of the Bhadu and Bhadarwa States which also have an origin common with that of the Balaor-Basohli royal house. A fifth State is also said to have been founded by a scion of this family, which is named Batal, possibly the Vartula of the *Rajatarangni*²³. It is possible that Kulu was the original branch of the family which was founded as early as 1st or 2nd century A.D. Bhog Pal was a Scion of Kulu branch who founded Vallapura much later, and Bhadu did not become separate till the middle of the 11th century, whereas Bhadarwah was also a part of Vallapura before it became independent about the time of Akbar.²⁴

No accurate date for the foundation of Vallapura can be deduced from the records supplied by the *Vansavali*. We can however conclude from external evidence that this happened much before the 11th century. We have already noted that Al-beruni writing in about 1030 A.D. mentions Balor as situated on the road from Damahal (Dhammeri=Nurpur) to Rajauri through the mountains²⁵. Another reference to Vallapura occurs in the *Rajatarangini*²⁶ in the reign of Ananta Deva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-63) when he invaded Chamba, probably about A.D. 1055, deposed the ruling chief, and set up another in his place. On his way back Ananta Deva passed by Vallapura which also was probably in revolt like Chamba and other hill states, and owing to his own rashness became involved in a difficult position, from which he was extricated by the sagacity of his ministers, Haladhar²⁷. The Raja of Vallapura at that time, mentioned by Kalhana, was Kalasa, the son of Tukka, whose reign began about A.D. 1050; and he was still in power in 1087-88. when he visited Kashmir court along with seven other hill chiefs in the reign of Kalasa (1063-89), son of Ananta Deva²⁸. Kalasa, the son of Tukka as Trailokyakhya, was thirteenth in succession²⁹ after Bhog Pal, the founder of the state, and allowing twenty-five

23. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangint*. Eng. tr., Bk. VIII, 287-88 and vs. 537-541.

24. *JPHS*, *op. tit.*, p. 78.

25. Sachau, *Al-biruni's India*, Eng. tr., p.

26. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Bk. VII, vs. 218-20.

27. *Ibid*, Bk. VII. v. 220.

28. *Ibid*, Bk. VII vs. 387-90, 583-84.

29. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51., gives the names of Bhog Pal's successors as follow : Nag Pal, Sambh Pal, Bhog Pal, Satyadhik Pal, Lakhman Pal, Shakirya Pal, Man Shakiya, Dev Shakiya, Bhog Shakiya, Apar Shakiya, Guna Shakiya, Triloka Shakiya and Kalasa Pal.

years to each reign we conclude that the state was founded in the second quarter of the eighth century. This date is entirely conjectural and may be pushed even to earlier centuries as there may be some more names which have not been included in the *Vansavali* which may have been inadvertently dropped in the process of copying as has happened during the 12th to 16th centuries. The *Vansavali* has only twelve names between A.D. 1169 and 1590, a period of 421 years, giving an average of 35½ years for each reign. "This circumstance, as well as the evidence of the *Rajatarangani*, makes it clear that for this period the *Vansavali* is incomplete."³⁰ In earlier centuries too such faults may have occurred. However, for the period after 1600 A.D. the *Vansavali* is reliable and contains a great deal more information which is corroborated and supplemented by the Chamba archives and by copper-plate deeds in Chamba and Balor States.

1. EARLY RULERS

As stated above, BHOG PAL was the founder of the state and hence its first ruler, who may have lived about, 700 A.D. The next three Balaoria ruler were NAG PAL, SAMBH or SINHA PAL, and BHOJ PAL. The last named ruler had two sons, SATYADHIK PAL and Radhik Pal.. Satyadhik succeeded to the *gaddi* of Balor whereas Radhik Pal was installed by his father as Raja of a part of the state called *Bhadravaksha* in the *Rajatarangini*³¹. This must have happened about the close of the 8th century and till then Bahadarwah was subject to Vallapura (Balore) State, and afterwards remained a separate fief for some time more before becoming a separate independent state.

Next in succession came Lakshmana Pal and Shakya (probably Shakta) Pal. During the reign of the latter King the State met another division. The younger son of Raja Shakya Pal was given a jagir across the Ujh river, where he built a fort which he named Somarhta after his own name. Afterwards it seems to have become a separate small State and the royal clan came to be called Sumarhta which later on changed to Sumbaria Rajputs.

The next, Balaoria Raja. 8th in succession, was Man Shakya (or Shakta), the eldest son of Shakya Pal. A note in the *Vansavali* states that Man Shakya himself removed the capital from Vallapura to Basohli after having killed a Rana, named BISU, who was in possession of the place. The foundation of Vallapura state as

30. *JPHS.*, *op. cit.*, p 78.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 81 ; Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

narrated in an early tradition, has been attributed to a similar event where Bhog Pal is said to have killed a Rana named Bilo after whom Bilor town is supposed to have been named. The fact of the naming of the town may not be trustworthy yet such traditions current in the hills are tend to confirm the popular belief that the Ranas and Thakurs were the original rulers of these regions prior to the conquest by Rajas. In this Man Shakya seems to have ousted the Rana and annexed the place to his kingdom and occasionally resided there although Vallapura remained capital of the state for many centuries after this event which may be placed somewhere about 900 A.D. This Raja also built a temple to Sri Trilochannath Mahadeva, which was called Man-dera after the name of the Raja. The ruins of this temple outside Basohli is now called Mahan-dehra. There is also a large platform of stones on the bank of the Ravi which is pointed out to be the site of *Samadhi* of his queen. Man Sakya seems to have a fancy for erecting buildings. Some ruins around Basohli are said to be those of the palace built by him. Though Basohli became capital of the state probably during Akbar's reign yet the town had been well established and popularised by him. He may tentatively be placed between 910 and 940 A.D.

According to the *Vansavali* Man Shakya was the eighth Baloria ruler. His successors to the principality were: Dev Shakya (940-960 A. D.), Bhog Shakya (960-985 A.D.), Apar Shakya (985-1010 A.D.), Ganashakya (1010-1030 A.D.), Trilok Shakya (1030-1050 A.D.), and Raja Kalasa Pal. The terminal 'Shakya' seems to be a corruption of 'akshya', as the names of the third and fourth rulers mentioned above have been written as Gunaksya and Trilokaksya. 'aksya' occurs in *apabhramsa* form as 'akhya'. Hence Gunakhya and Trilokakhya. It has also been surmised that 'akhya', with long 'a' is the original Sanskrit form, meaning 'an appellation' or 'called' or 'named'; Trilokakhya therefore means 'called Trailoka or Trailokya'.³²

Nothing has been recorded in the *vansavali* about Trailokya. However, he is the first Balauria ruler to find mention in inscriptional records of Chamba State. Inscriptions found in Churah, the northern district of Chamba State, certainly refer to him. These records consist chiefly of inscribed slabs erected at fountains (*baolis*) in memory of their ancestors and for the sake of their bliss in the next world. As has been pointed out earlier in most of the hill States the country was portioned out into tiny baronies under the rule of Ranas and Thakurs previous to the founding of

32. *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Calcutta, 1916, p. 81.

principalities. These Ranes acknowledged the nominal subjection to one or other of the kingdom after their foundation. These state inscriptions belong to the Ranas, in which it was customary to mention the name and regnal year of the Raja to whom the Rana owed allegiance and also the *shashtra* year in which the inscription was carved. In the Tisa and Sai *parganas* of Churah three such slabs have been found, each bearing the name of Raja Trailokya-deva. 'No such name occurs in the genealogical roll of the Chamba Chiefs, but we find it in that of Balor, and the conclusion seems justified that Trailokya of Vallapure is the Raja referred to.'³³ The date on one of these Slabs is S. 17 corresponding to A.D. 1041, and on another S. 4 (=1128—29 A.D.). It is therefore probable that he ruled over Churah during the first half of the eleventh century. It is also evident that at that early date Churah had not been a part of Chamba State and it was then under the suzerainty of Balor.

According to the *Vansavali*, Trailokya was succeeded by his son Kalasa Pal (1050—1090 A.D.), and the latter by his son Tung-Pal also written Tikh-Pal. The name of Kalasa Pal occurs twice in the *Rajatarangini*, where he is called "Kalasa the son of Tukka, Lord of Vallapura."³⁴ Here Trailokya has been mentioned in popular appellation as was a custom in these hills. Tukka has nothing to do with Tung-Pal as has been opined by the authors of the *History of Punjab Hill States*. Trailokya probably died in about 1050 A.D. and was succeeded by Kalasa Pal. It was during his reign that Vallapura was invaded in about 1056 A.D. by Anantadeva of Kashmir and the State had probably to acknowledge the supremacy of Kashmir; for we find this Vallapura ruler mentioned among the hill chiefs, who visited the capital of Kashmir in A.D. 1087-88 in the reign of Raja Kalasa, son and successor of Anantadeva.³⁵ The incident mentioned concerns Harsha, the son of Kalasa of Kashmir, who had married a grand daughter of Raja Tukka (Trailokya) of Vallapura, named Sugala. It is stated that she tried to poison her husband when he was thrown into prison by his father in A.D. 1088.

There is a lot of confusion in the statements of different

33. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pp. 176—78.

34. Stain, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., BK vii, VS. 220 and 588—90.

35. *Ibid*, BK. vii., verses 588-90 and 685.

versions of *Vansavalis*,³⁶ and their comparison with the *Rajatarangini* reveals a further lacuna in the family records. The *Rajatarangini* mentions some other ancient rulers of Vallapura whose names are not found in any *vansavali*. These are Padmaka and his son and heir-apparent, the Yuvaraja, Ananda, both of whom espoused the cause of Bhikshachara, grandson of King Harsha of Kashmir, when he was endeavouring to recover the throne from the usurpers Uchhala and Sussala, the Lohara princes; also Jajjala who supported Sussala. Padmaka may have been a son or grandson of Kalasa of Vallapura; and Ananda and Jajjala his sons. These names seem to have been omitted in the process of copying. The events in Kashmir with which their names are associated in the *Rajatarangini* occurred in A.D. 1013 and later, Raja Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.) and his son Bhoj, were killed in a rebellion raised by Damaras (Land-lords) in favour of the Lohara princes Uchhala and Sussala, and Uchhala occupied the throne. Princess Asamati conveyed the infant son of Bhoj, named Bhikshachara, to the court of king Naravahana of Malava, where he was brought up and educated, Uchhala was murdered in A.D. 1111 and was succeeded by his brother Sussala. The chaos prevailing in Kashmir encouraged Bhikshachara's supporters to invite him to return.³⁷ The prince, left for Kashmir at the head of troops from Malava. At Kurukshetra he fell in with five hill chiefs who had gone there on pilgrimage in company. Three of them were ruling chiefs, viz., Jasata of Champa, Vajradhara of Babbapura (Durgara) and Sahajapala of Vartula (Batal ?); while two others, Balha of Trigarta and Ananda of Vallapura (Balor), were Yuvarajas or heirs-apparent and co-rulers. As Bhikshachara was nearly related to the Chamba Chief, being his nephew on Mother's side, he was therefore received with favour and distinction by all the Chiefs who also decided to uphold his cause. From there Bhikshachara proceeded to Vallapura where Raja Padmaka gave him a cordial reception and gave him a daughter in marriage.³⁸

At Vallapura some attempts were made to help the exiled prince in his Kashmir expedition. Arrangements were set afoot

36. For instance, in a second version of *vansavali* we find the names Karam Raja and Takht Rai between Trailokya and Kalasa. This may be due to interpolation in the second version or omission in the version of *Vanavali* in possession of Thakur Kahan Singh Balaoria.

37. Stain, M.A.: *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., BK. viii, verses 537-41 and 547.

38. *Ibid*, BK. viii, verses 538-42 and 547-55.

to raise troops to assist in the invasion of Kashmir, the principal helper being a Thakur, named Gaya-Pala, who probably had his headquarters at Mulkiyar in Churah. However, the attempt failed as Gaya Pala was murdered by some of his own relatives; while a second Balaoria chief, Daryaka, one of Bhikshachara's chief supporters, also fell in an expedition against Gaya Pala's murderers. Meanwhile, Bhikshachara's resources dried up and he was forced to take shelter with his maternal uncle, Raja Jasata of Champa. His fortunes rapidly declined and after 4 or 5 years stay at Champa he left it in disgust and went to live with a minor chief named Dengapala of a small State on the Bank of the Chenab.³⁹ In A.D. 1118 having now reached manhood he seems to have again returned to Vallapura and from there he was invited to Rajapuri, Rajauri, by Som Pal, the Raja of that place, who wanted to draw political benefit out of his position and claim. With Rajapuri help, and after many vicissitudes Bhikshachara succeeded in regaining the throne in A.D. 1120, but through his own folly was again driven into exile after six months.

Meanwhile, the Rajas of Champa, Vallapura and other chiefs seem to have been reconciled and had made peace with Kashmiri King, Sussala. Vallapura continued to play some role in Kashmir affairs. The *Rajatarangini* informs us that Jajjala, the Lord of Vallapura, assisted Sussala in 1122 in the defence of Srinagar.⁴⁰ Sussala had married a princess of the royal house of Vallapura, for among his queens who became *Sati* with him, one was a Vallapura princess. Bhikshachara was finally killed by Kashmir troops in 1130 at a fort in Banihal. The only chief who stood by Bhikshachara to the last was his father-in-law Dengapala.

Kashmir's supremacy over Balaor seems to have been complete by this time, Raja Jaya Sinha (A.D. 1128-49) of Kashmir, son and successor of Sussala; even deposed Vikrama Raja, Lord of Vallapura, and replace him by Gulhana.⁴¹ This event may have happened around 1140. The names of these important chiefs—Padmaka, Ananda, Vikrama and Gulhana of Vallapura—are not to be found in the official *Vansavali* or the records consulted by Thakur Kahan Singh Balaoria. The occurrence of their names in the *Rajatarangini* and the mention of a Raja Vikramadit in a third version of the *Vansavali* confirms the conclusion that their names have been omitted in the process of copying. They may have

39. *Ibid.*, viii, 554.

40. *Ibid.* BK. viii, verses 1083-86, and 1444.

41. *Ibid.*, BK. viii, 2452.

immediately followed Kalasa. These events prove that the Lohara kings of Kashmir exercised a considerable influence in Balaor affairs but due to wars of succession the Kashmiri power had weakened so much that Balaor and the other hill States became quite independent by the close of this period.

Somewhere here fits in the reign of Raja Tung Pal who may have ruled between 1140 and 1150 A.D. Probably he was the son and successor of Gulhana whom the King of Kashmir had seated on the throne of Balaor. By this time Muslim power had been firmly established in Hindustan. The Turk Sultans of the Slave dynasty ruled from Delhi over the Punjab and other parts of northern India. The centres of their power nearer the Dogra country were at Dipalpur, Lahore and Sialkot, Tung Pal was probably contemporary of Nasiruddin Mahmud. We find for the first time a reference to Muslim interference in Balaor affairs leading to its partition. Tung Pal had a younger brother, named Tukh Pal, who is said to have put up his claim to a share in the kingdom and succeeded in winning the military support of the Muslim governor of Lahore. The Muslim army invaded Balaor and forced Tung Pal to alienate Bhadu village and the surrounding region and give it to Tukh Pal who built it into an independent fief of Bhadu and became the first ancestor of Bhaduwal ruling branch of the Rajputs⁴². This may have taken place about 1150 A.D. However, for these and for some of the succeeding rulers we have a vague and scanty Chronological data to arrive at some trustworthy conclusions.

The immediate successors of Tung Pal were Thukan Pal, Mahl Pal and Arun Pal⁴³.

The name of Arun Pal is said to be a corruption of Rana Pal, and in one of the Chamba inscriptions at Devi Kothi in Churah this Raja's name is found.⁴⁴ It does not occur in the geneological roll of Chamba, and the suffix 'Pal' points to its having been the name of a Raja of Vallapura. The inscription in question is dated in A.D. 1159-62 and, and was set up during the reign of Raja Lalita-Varman of Chamba-(C.A.D. 1143-71). Lalita-Varman must, therefore, have been at that time the overlord of Churah, but we must suppose that Churah had been reconquered by Vallapura after Lalita-Varman's death, and the name of Rana Pal inscribed on the slab to mark his victory, either by his own orders, or by those of

42. Kahan Singh Balawaria, Thakur : *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-t-Mulk-i-Punjab*, Vol. I, 1912, p. 51.

43. *Ibid*, p. 52.

44. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 508.

the local Rana in his honour. This accounts for the presence of the name of the Raja of Vallapura on the slab. The province of Churah was a bone of contention between Balor and Chamba for many centuries, down indeed almost to the extinction of the Balor state. Raja Rana Pal was, therefore only claiming what he regarded as his own when he reasserted the supremacy of Balor over Churah. In the genealogical roll of the Balor Rajas we find the names, Rana Malla, Raja Ranal and Aruna Malla, all of which are doubtless corruptions of Rana-pala, the name which appears on the Devi Kothi fountain slab, and he must have reigned about 1160 A.D. or a little later⁴⁵.

On Rana Pal's death he was succeeded by his son *Ajay Pal*, the date of whose accession may have been about A.D. 1169. In the Vansavali he is called Aje Pal, "son of Raja Ranul"

Raja Ajaya Pal also finds mention on one of the Chamba fountain slabs, erected by a Rana at Sai in Churah about A.D. 1169-70. In the inscription the space for the regnal year is left vacant, which to a certain extent supports the conjecture that Ajaya Pal was the Raja referred to in the Vansavali as "son of Raja Ranul"⁴⁶ The composer of the inscription probably could not get the exact date of an alien ruler which was unknown to the people of Sai, for his capital was situated at some distance away. The author of the inscription probably failed to obtain the necessary information, and so the year of Ajaya Pal's accession has remained a blank. This record lends a further support to the fact that at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century the Rajas of Balor exercised for some time a measure of supremacy over Churah.

Ajaya Pal seems to have been a noted personality in his time, and Thakur Kahan Singh states that he continues to be worshipped down to the present day, in much the same manner as Raja Mundalik and Gugga Chauhan; and numerous *sathanas* or places of worship in his honour exist in Balor⁴⁷.

After Ajaya Pal there is again a long break, for which we have no reliable data beyond the names of the Rajas who ruled the State. These were :- *Prithvi Pal*, *Mahipat Pal*, *Hari Pal*, *Bini* Pashaps Bidhi (Sanskrit Vidai) or *Vini Pal*. *Udai Pal*:

After Ajaya Pal the family records give a long string of names without any reliable date. The kings who followed Ajaya Pal were *Prithi Pal*, *Mahipat Pal*; *Hari Pal*, who is said to have invaded

45 *JPHS. op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

46. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 232.

47. Kahan Singh Balawaria, Thakur *op. cit.* p. 52.

Bhadu and wrested some villages and founded a village thereafter his name ; Bini or Vinaya Pal ; Udey Pal, a brave ruler who invaded Chamba and occupied half of that kingdom, annexed it to Balaor kingdom and founded the village of Udeypur after his name which exists till today as a part of Chamba territory ; Sidh Pal ; Bhag Pal ; Jayarath Pal, Achal or Anchal Pal and Bhual Pal⁴⁸. Some of these rulers, like Prithi Pal, Pahipat Pal and Bhag Pal have been attributed incredibly long reigns of forty, fifty and even fifty-five years, and are open to grave suspicions ; and it is probable that during this period also the names of several rulers have been omitted from the *Vansavali* in the process of copying. Udey Pal's invasion on Chamba was probably a result of the revival of Balaor's old claim on Churah which had been occupied by Chamba for a long time.

Daulat Pal : c. A.D. 1500-Bhual Pal was succeeded by his son Daulat Pal. 'Daulat ; a Persian word meaning 'wealth' or 'sovereignty', indicates the establishment of Muslim influence in this region. He probably succeeded to the state in the early part of the 16th century. He resided at Balor and in the higher mountains in summer, and at Hat on the right bank of the Ravi, some distance above Basohli, in winter. At the latter place he caused to be planted extensive mango groves which have been reported to exist till recently. He had eight sons by his ranis and one, a *sartora* by a concubine. Their names were : Gajendar Pal, Godhin Pal, Keshab Pal, Haibat Pal, Biju Pal, Masu Pal, Mehi Pal, Balabhadar Pal and Hast Pal. When Daulat Pal, became old, he seated Gajendar Pal on the *gaddi* and gave him the *raj-tilak*, thus associating him with himself in the government of the state. To his other sons he granted jagirs, and the *als'* or family surnames of their descendants are derived from names of these estate. Thus to Godnin Pal he gave the estate of Rahin, hence the family surname of Rahinyal ; to Keshab Pal he gave Jandrota, hence the surname Jandrotia ; and so on with the other sons.

Gajendar Pal. c. A.D.1530—It is probable that this Raja ascended the *gaddi* about A.D. 1530, and he is said to have ruled forty years. He was, therefore contemporary with Akbar for the latter part of his reign. He appointed his brothers, the sons of Daulat Pal, to the dignity of *Wazirs* and exercised his authority through them⁴⁹.

48. *Ibid*, p. 53.

49. *Ibid.*, Pp. 53-54,

JAS PAL : c. A.D. 1570.

Gajandar Pal is said to have ruled for forty years, and was succeeded by his son Jas Pal. He had four sons—Kishan Pal, Govardhan Pal, Bidhi Pal and Bijat Pal. He gave every one of them a village each in *jagir*. The fourth son died issueless whereas the descendants of the other two became known by the '*als*' acquired from the names of their villages, viz., Jhakohria and Sandrial respectively. Jas Pal abdicated in favour of his eldest son Kishan Pal gave him '*raj-tilak*' by his own hand appointed his second son Govardhan Pal his *wazir* and himself retired into seclusion⁵⁰. He may have ruled for over ten years.

Krishan Pal, c. A.D. 1580—This raja must have succeeded to the *gaddi* during the 9th decade of the 16th century, and he is referred to as 'Rai Krishan Balauriya' among the thirteen hill chiefs who were subdued by Zain Khan Koka in the 35th year of Akbar (A.D. 1589-90) and appeared at court with valuable presents⁵¹. He seems to have ruled till the early part of Jahangir's reign. It is related of him that once the Emperor Jahangir accompanied by Nur Jahan Begam came to Nurpur for sport, and all the hill Rajas were summoned to attend upon him. One day a tiger appeared and all present were frightened, but Krishan Pal with one stroke of his hunting spear killed the animal. The Emperor was so pleased with this act of prowess that the title of Kher (Sher) Pal was conferred on the Raja. The gateway and towers which remain of the old fortifications of Balor are ascribed to Krishan Pal. It is also said that the *ilaga* of Shahpur Kandi was taken from Nurpur and given to Basohli. There may be some truth in this tradition, for we know that Pathankot *pargana* was actually severed from Nurpur during the reign of Raja Basu of that state, in A.D. 1594-5, and given to Mirza Rustam Khan, Qandahari, by Akbar⁵². It comprised the country lying between the Ravi and Chakki rivers, of which Paithan (Pathankot) was the capital. Shahpur Kandi, however, did not remain long in the possession of Balor for it was made a separate state by Shahjahan A.D. 1650, in favour of Bhao Singh, younger son of Jagat Singh of Nurpur, who had embraced Islam.

The authors of the *History of Punjab Hill States* insert a Raja named Kehar Pal after Kishan Pal. But it seems more probable that Kher or Kehar Pal was Kishan Pal himself, as he was known by this

50. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

51. *Maasirul-uma-ra* (Bibl. Ind.) Vol. ii, p. 367 ; *Akburnamat* Cawnpore ed., Vol., iii. p. 390.

52. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr., p. 454.

title also which had been conferred on him by Jahangir, as stated earlier. Hence the immediate successor of Kishan Pal was his son, the famous Bhupat Pal.

Bhupat Pal, A. D. 1595—According to Kahan Singh Balawaria, Kishan Pal, had only one son, named Bhupat Pal who was born in S. 1630 (AD. 1573). When Kishan Pal died about 1595, Bhupat Pal, a youth of twenty two years of age, succeeded to the *gaddi* the same year. He was of exceedingly strong built invested with superhuman power so that he could rub out letters on a rupee with his fingers. His daily consumption of food was 16 English seers of rice and one goat.⁵³ Bhupat Pal was a contemporary of Jagat Singh of Nurpur who, through his influence at the Mughal Court, was seeking to gain paramount power over the surrounding States. There was therefore no love lost between them and the rulers of Chamba, Basohli and Guler.⁵⁴ Jagat Singh invaded Chamba in A. D. 1612-3 and in A. D. 1622-3 he conquered the State, assassinated heir-apparent with his own hand, and placed the state under his own officers and ruled by them for twenty years. About A. D. 1614 he seems to have tried to bring Balor also under his control. To effect this he awaited a favourable opportunity, when Bhupat Pal was absent from Court, to introduce him to the Emperor Jahangir, who, without any inquiry, had him cast into prison.^{54a} There in the Dan-gali fort he languished for fourteen years,⁵⁵ during which the Balor State was entrusted to Jagat Singh or seized by him and ruled by his officers. Bhupat Pal recovered his liberty about A. D. 1627, possibly on the death of Jahanagir. He returned to Balor in disguise, and took shelter in the Bagni jungle, and waited for an opportunity to disclose his identity to his officials. This was at last done through a Chamar, who used to make shoes for him and who recognized him by his great stature. He informed the Raja's kinsmen the fact of his return, and an army was assembled through the agency of his cousin, named Fateh Jang, which defeated the Nurpur garrison and recovered the State. A letter is said still to be in the possession of Fateh Jang's family, which fixes the date of this occurrence as 10th Sawan Vik. 1684⁵⁶ corresponding to 22nd July, 1627.

Having resumed his position as Raja, Bhupat Pal made Fateh

53. Kahan Singh Balawaria, Thakur., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

54. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 88.

54.a *J. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1916, p. 87.

55. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

56. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.* pp. 56-57.

Jang his Wazir, and soon afterwards started on a career of conquests and expansion of his kingdom. He invaded Bhadu and Bhadrawah, ruled by branches of his own family, and made them tributary. He also raided Kishtwar occupied some of its territory which he made over to Bhadarwah. He also carried off from there an ancient image of linga of Nilkanth to Basohli where it is worshipped to this day. The fact of this conquest is confirmed by the Kishtwar annals which state that the invasion took place in the reign of Raja Jagat Singh of Kishtwar and in the time of Shah-Jahan, probably about A. D. 1628-29. On this occasion Bhupat Pal was accompanied by one Kantak Balaoria. Jagat Singh was killed and Kantak was left administrator of the occupied territories.

On hearing of this his younger brother, Bhagwan Singh, who was at the Mughal Court as a hostage, obtained an army from Shahjahan and drove out the Basohli troops. Kantak is said to have been killed, and his head used for football on the *chaugan*. A *mela* was instituted by the Kishtwar Chief in honour of his victory, called Kantak Jatra, which is still observed. During his occupation of Kishtwar, Bhupat Pal planted "reversed cedars" which were still in existence at the time the Balor Vansavali was written.⁵⁷

Bhupat Pal also invaded Chamba and seized some of the territory. This may have been a revival of the old claim over Churah or only a border raid, and it probably took place while Chamba was subject to Nurpur. Bhupat Pal is also said to have plundered Nurpur, which may only mean that he joined the imperial forces in one of their expeditions against that State.⁵⁸

The present town of Basohli was founded by his orders. There had been a small town of the same name in existence from ancient times, situated close to the right bank of the Ravi, near the ferry; the ruins of which may still be seen. Owing to its proximity to the river it was easy for the Nurpur marauders; who held the left bank, to cross over and plunder the place. Bhupat Pal, therefore, gave orders to his wazir Fateh Jang for establishing a new town at a site at some distance from the river, and there the Jungle was cleared and the new town was founded on the slope of a spur in A. D. 1630.⁵⁹

Two sons of Bhupat Pal are known who were born to him in his advanced age on account of his imprisonment. Immediately after

57. J. P. H. S., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 12.

58. J. P. H. S., Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 88.

59. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.* p. 58.

his release he had married a Kishtwar princess after the conquest of that country and in 1628 A. D. a son was born out of this union, and was named Sangram Pal, for having taken birth during war. Bhupat Pal had married a Chaneni princess also and in A. D. 1633 another son was born, named Hiuntal Pal, Hiunta being the ancient name of Chaneni. He was mostly called Hindal Pal.

Bhupat Pal met a violent death as a result of treachery. His feud with the Nurpur Raja was never resolved and Raja Jagat Singh must have cherished it with increased rancour after the expulsion of his troops from Balor, and he only waited an opportunity for revenge. *In the beginning of A. D. 1635 Bhupat Pal went to Delhi to pay his respects to Emperor Shah Jahan, and Jagat Singh was also present at the Court.* Just about that time, so the story goes, an order had been issued by Shahjahan for the execution of one Bhupat Khan, which was entrusted to Jagat Singh. Finding a good opportunity in the similarity of the names for carrying out his evil purpose, *he killed Bhupat Pal instead of the other, and affirmed that it had been done by mistake.* The Emperor was much displeased, but Jagat Singh's friends interceded for him and he escaped punishment. Jagat Singh was, however, sent away to the Afghan land to defend the Kabul frontier where he died of exhaustion.⁶⁰ Bhupat Pal was sixty-two years of age at the time of his death. Some of his *pattas* or title-deeds on paper are still extant.⁶¹

Sangram Pal, A. D. 1635. He was only seven years old at the time of his father's death. The courtiers seated him on the *gaddi*, and Fateh Jang continued to act as Wazir. The vansavali states that he like his father before him was imprisoned and even ordered to be killed in consequence of the slander by his neighbour, Jagat Singh of Nurpur, *Possibly this tradition has been the result of Sangram Pal's Compulsory stay in the court of Delhi as a hostage. It is explicitly stated that Sangram Pal's imprisonment took place while he was still young.*

Kahan Singh's version of the incident is to the following effect. When Sangram Pal was twelve years old the Emperor heard of his handsome appearance and summoned him to Court. This caused great consternation. In Basohli, owing to a suspicion that he, too, might be killed by Jagat Singh; but there was no way of evading the imperial order. Every precaution was taken against treachery and a hundred loyal and brave young men from Basohli accompanied

60. *J. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1916, p. 88.

61. Kahan Singh Balaria, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

him to Delhi. On arrival there it was soon apparent that these fears were groundless. The young Raja was received with every token of favour and had a valuable *khilat* presented to him, and much attention was shown him. The Begams in the palace heard of his beauty and expressed a wish to see him, which was granted by the Emperor. Sangram Pal was, therefore, taken into the female apartments by Dara Shikoh. On reaching the entrance a napkin was tied over his eyes, but the Begams said that man's beauty lies in his eyes and begged to have the bandage removed which was done. The ladies were greatly delighted with his appearance and dismissed him with rich presents.⁶² A similar story is told of Prithvi Singh Chamba, a contemporary of Sangram Pal. *Sangram Pal remained a year in Delhi, and on his departure for Basohli was granted title-deeds guaranteeing to him the perpetual possession of the State, the right of adoption in the event of failure of direct heirs. These documents have now been lost.*⁶³

Sangram Pal is said to have waged war with Guler, Kahlur, Nurpu and Chamba; and 'plucked their realm from the Chambials.' He fought twenty-two battles, in all of which he was victorious, and he married twenty-two times, but left no issue.⁶⁴

The *Vansavali* and Kahan Singh Baloria's history contain no further details about his reign. But from other sources more information can be gleaned, though in a fragmentary form. Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur, was a great favourite of Shah Jahan and played a great part in the success of his north-west frontier policy. At the height of his power he nurtured the ambition of conquering all the hill states with Mughal help. He brought Chamba and Basohli wholly under his control and sought to humble Guler, Mandi and Suket. His ruthless policy of suppression and murder in Chamba and Basohli had the support of the Mughal officials. All the hill states had therefore much cause for resentment against the Pathania (Nurpur) ruler, and they were simmering for revenge. The hour of retribution came at last in A. D. 1641 when Jagat Singh, in his pride, rebelled against Shahjahan. The Rajas of Chamba, Basohli and Guler were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them to settle old scores. In the Chamba Chronicle, Chamba claims the entire credit for Jagat Singh's overthrow. In this, however, we know that neither Chamba nor

62. A Similar story is told of Prithvi Singh of Chamba, a contemporary of Sangram Pal.

63. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 59,

64. *Ibid*, p. 60,

Basohli played a very prominent part. Raja Prithvi Singh of Chamba who had been carried away to Mandi for safety then a child of four, on his father's death in A. D. 1622-23, asked for and obtained troops and assistance from Mandi, Kulu and probably other States, and advancing by way of Lahul and Pangri took the Nurpur army in flank and rear, driving them out of the State with great slaughter.⁶⁵ He then proceeded to the Mughal camp at Pathankot, and through the intercession of Prince Murad Bakhsh, sought audience of the Emperor at Lahore, where he received a *Khilat* with other honours and was ordered to return to his State and collect a force for the siege of Taragarh Fort, in which Jagat Singh had found a last refuge after the fall of Mau and Nurpur. Being unable to raise the force unaided, Prithvi Singh applied to Sangram Pal of Basohli for help and offered to surrender the *pargana* of Bhalai. To this Sangram Pal readily agreed. Man Singh of Guler was also in the Mughal camp, and in the record of the campaign in the *Badshahnamah*, he is called "the mortal enemy of Jagat Singh."⁶⁶ On returning with the allied force, Prithvi Singh of Chamba was directed to seize and hold, in conjunction with Raja Man Singh of Guler, a hill at the back of Taragarh, the possession of which was necessary in order to cut off supply line to the besieged fort. Jagat Singh fell short of supplies, and he was compelled to surrender after a siege of three months.

After the completion of the task and thereby winning the obligation of the Mughals Raja Prithvi Singh of Chamba considered the cession of Bhalai only a temporary arrangement and wanted to take it back. Possibly Sangram Pal may have also failed to fulfil his part of the agreement about the sending of troops. At any rate Prithvi Singh seems to have demanded a retrocession of the *paragana*, and on this being refused, an appeal was made in A. D. 1648 to the imperial court and a delegate was sent by the Viceroy of Lahore to make an inquiry into the matter. Where this inquiry was held we are not told, but both Rajas were summoned to appear and plead their claim. Sangram Pal failed to do so and the decision was given against him,⁶⁷ and this decision was incorporated in a *sanad* issued under the seal of Mir Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab under Aurangzeb, bearing a date corresponding to 18th March, A. D. 1666. Sangram Pal seems to have refused compliance with

65. *Chambu Gazetteer*, pp. 91-92.

66. *Badshahnamah*, E. & D. Vol. p.

67. *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, 1909, pp. 52 & 60 Nos. 9. 1 and 2; *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 92 and 94.

the first orders, and on obtaining the second *sanad* the Chamba Chief, Chhatar Singh, son of Prithvi Singh, took possession of Bhalai by force. By the same *sanad* the administration of *pargana* of Bhadrawah State was taken from Sangram Pal and made over to Chamba. From another Persian document, undated, we learn that Sangram Pal had built a fort in Chamba territory, which became a cause of dispute, but we do not know its nature.⁶⁸

Sangram Pal reigned thirty-eight years and died without issue about A. D. 1673—in the 45th year of his age. He left seven Ranis, all of whom became Sati.

Hindal Pal, c. A. D. 1673—He was the younger brother of Sangram Pal and was about forty years old when he came to the *gaddi*. He reigned only for a short time, probably not more than five years, and was succeeded by his son, Kripal Pal.

KRIPAL PAL, C A. D. 1678.⁶⁹

He married two *Ranis*, the first being a Princess of the house of Bandrahlta (Ramnagar) and the second of Mankot (Ramkot). It was probably Kripal Pal who combined with Chamba and Jammu in repelling the incursions of Mirza Ubed Beg, the Mughal Viceroy.⁷⁰ A *patta* of his reign still exists in the possession of the descendants of royal *vaidya* or physician and is dated in the *shastari samvat* 63, corresponding to A. D. 1687.⁷¹ He ruled for fifteen years and died in A. D. 1693. A Ms copy of works of Charak and Shusrat on *ayurveda* in the hand of Panda Sri Kanth, done in his reign has been discovered (done in S. 1745=A. D. 1688), which contains at the end an eulogy of the Raja in the following words.

“The name Raja Kripal Pal has the (virtues) of interpretation of the *shastras*, devotion to Visnu, fulfilling of desires and uprooting of enemies.”⁷²

Dhiraj Pal, A. D. 1693—This Raja was contemporary with Raja Udai Singh of Chamba, and a document from him is extant in the Chamba archives relating to a treaty of amity and friendship entered into between himself on the one hand and Udai Singh and his uncle, Wazir Jai Singh, on the other. It is dated Sambat 84, 21st & Asuj⁷³ (October, A. D. 1708). The *Vansavali* states that Dhiraj Pal's personal charm was such that the daughter of Dina Beg

68. *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, *op. cit.* p. 66, c. 3

69. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 60 has the Samvat year 1735.

70. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 94

71. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

72. *Ibid*, p. 62, quotes the original text as under :

श्री कृपाल इति नाम धारयन् । धर्मशास्त्र मुनिशं विचारयन् ॥

विष्णु सेव मनसपि धारयन् । जीविताद्बहु रिपुमिद्वारयन् ॥

73. *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.*, *op. cit.* p. 66, c. 5.

(Adina Beg), Viceroy of the Panjab, fell in love with him. When the Nawab in his court ventured to mention the fact to the Raja, the latter "drew his sword and caused all present to turn pale." This story, if authentic, must have reference to some one else than the famous Nawab Adina Beg Khan, who was Viceroy at a much later date. It is of some interest as an illustration of the pretensions of the Balauria Rajas in matrimonial matters.⁷⁴

The treaty of friendship between Basohli and Chamba does not seem to have held good for long.⁷⁵ The rupture probably resulted from an invasion of Guler State by Jammu and Basohli, during a minority, Udai Singh of Chamba was the infant Raja's guardian and he opposed and defeated the invading army. Raja Udai Singh was killed in A.D. 1720 and was succeeded by his cousin, Ugar Singh. Soon afterwards war broke out between the two states and Dhiraj Pal was killed in battle—probably in an attempt to reassert his sway over the pargana of Jhund and Bhalai. The date of his death as given by Kahan Singh was S. 1760⁷⁶ i.e., A.D. 1703. He had two sons, Medini Pal and Rattan Pal.

Medini Pal : A.D. 1703. He was only eight years old at the time of his father's death. The administration of the state was therefore run by Mian Rattan Pal Siriwala and Wazir Harkha Jhikalwehria.⁷⁷ He married a sister of the Raja of Guler and his sons were Ajit Pal and Vikram Pal. In Vik. 1792←A.D. 1735, he invaded Chamba, defeated Ugar Singh and re-annexed the two *parganas* of Jundh and Bhalai. This invasion finds confirmation in a document in Chamba archives, under the seal of Adina Beg Khan, in the reign of Alamgir II (1754-9)⁷⁸. It is to the effect that the pargana of Jundh (and probably also Bhalai), which had been withdrawn from Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba, owing to his unfaithfulness to the Emperor, and conferred on Medini Pal of Balor, was restored to Chamba in A.D. 1758 in the reign of Raja Ummed Singh (A.D. 1748-64). It was, therefore, in the assertion of his rights that Medini Pal invaded Chamba and recovered the two *parganas*. Medini Pal reigned for thirty-three years and died in A.D. 1736.

Jit Pal, A.D. 1736. He had two sons, viz. Amrit Pal, born in 1745, and Bikram Pal born in the same year, by different Ranis.

74. *J. P. H. S.* Vol, IV, No. 2, 1916, p. 91.

75. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 94-95.

76. Kahan Singh Caloria, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

77. *Ibid*, p. 62.

78. *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, p. 67, C. 11.

Jit Pal reigned for twenty-one years and died in A.D. 1757. He is said to have annexed Bhadu State to Basohli, probably with the help of Jammu. From about the middle of the eighteenth century the Basohli State became more and more *dependent on Jammu*. This fact finds expression in the local chronicle which mentions that Jit Pal "used to assist" Maharaja Dhrub Dev of Jammu.⁷⁹

Amrit Pal. A.D. 1757—he was only twelve years old at the time of his accession. He married a daughter of Maharaja Ranjit Dev of Jammu in 1759, and also married a daughter of the Raja Abhey Chand Katoch of Kangra. His son, Bajai Pal, from the Katoch wife was born in 1763. He had two more sons who died in infancy.

Amrit Pal resided much at Jammu and from this time the Basohli State came to a large extent under the control of Ranjit Dev, who had extended his power over the hills as far east as Chamba. The *Vansavali* says: "Amrit Pal reigned by the grace of the illustrious king of kings, Ranjit Dev. Maharaja Dhrub Dev and Maharaja Ranjit Dev wrote with their own hand on a copper-plate charter that it was the duty to their house to maintain the kingdom of the Balaurias, taking Ganga and Jamuna as witnesses. Thus the Balaurias were of old favoured by the Maharajas of Jammu and obedient to them.⁸⁰ It is not known whether the plate is still extant.

The *Vansavali* further informs us that he obtained Bhaddu through the favour of Ranjit Dev, and also the Basantgarh from Baniadalta (Ramnagar) State.⁸¹ Local tradition adds that he also acquired Shahpur as far as the Chakki from Nurpur; and Lakhanpur, Basantpur and Thain, all on the right bank or the Ravi—probably the whole of Lakhanpur State—from Jasrota.⁸² Lakhanpur State was ruled by a branch of the Jamwal family, an offshoot from Jasrota, and the latest historical mention is in connection of Zain Khan Koka, already referred to, in the 55 year or Akbar (A.D. 1589-90). It is probable that the state was annexed by Jagat Singh or Nurpur in pursuance of his ambitious designs, and at a later period it fell under the control of Jasrota. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it again reverted to Nurpur and was still regarded as a part of that territory when the hills were ceded

79. *H.P.H.S.*, p. 606

80. *J.P.S.H.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1916, p. 92.

81. Khan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

82. *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV. No. 21, p. 92.

to the British Government in March 1846.⁸³

Basohli was thus under great obligation to Jammu and Amrit Pal rendered personal and military help for the extension of Jammu supremacy. He assisted Ranjit Dev in the conquest of Bhadrawah and Kashtwar, and in 1773 he accompanied Prince Brijraj Dev of Jammu on an expedition against Raja Ghammand Chand Katoch of Kangra in which the allied army was successful and the Katoch chief was forced to submit.⁸⁴ In 1774 led an army against Chamba on behalf of Ranjit Dev.

In the early part of the reign of Raj Singh of Chamba (1764-94) Ranjit Dev had acquired much influence in the state, owing to the queen-mother being a Jammu Princess. The Wazir of the state named Aklu, was his own officer and his authority lasted till Raj Singh came of age. Raj Singh made an attempt to free the state from his control. Ranjit Dev therefore, sent an army under the command of Amrit Pal of Basohli, which over ran the northern province, called Churah, and is even said to have captured and held the capital for three months. During this occupation a copper-plate deed was issued by Amrit Pal in place of one that had been lost, which is still extant, and bears a date corresponding to 25th May, A.D. 1774. Two *panihars* or cisterns bearing inscriptions, one at Mulkihar and the other at Batrundi in Lohtikri, are said to have been wantonly destroyed on that occasion. Raj Singh had probably hurried away from the state in search of succour and returned with a Sikh contingent from the Ramgarhia Sirdars and drove out the invaders. As we shall see, he had his revenge when he over ran and conquered Basohli in 1782.⁸⁵

The *Vansavali* describes Amrit Pal as an ideal ruler. "He protected his subjects like his own children. He made Brahmans, Kshatrias, Rajputs and Vaisyas persevere in their *sandhya* prayers' and himself did the same, as also in *puja* and *dharm*a. The four castes took their food in the *Chauka*. When the women came out and happened to meet a man, they at once turned their back to him."⁸⁶ The *vansavali* further lauds Amrit Pal's reign as having been the golden age of Basohli history. "That the Basohli State enjoyed great prosperity in the days of Amrit Pal appears to be

83. *Kangra Gazetteer*, p. 28; *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol. II. p. 372.

84. *Brijraj Panchasika*, S. 49-52, see *History and Culture of Himalayan States* Vol. IV, Appendix.

85. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 98-99.

86. *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV No. 2 p. 93.

true ; but this was probably due less to the virtues of the ruler than to the political conditions of the time. The authority of the Mughals in the Panjab, already weakened by the rise of the Sikhs, was destroyed by Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739, and by the subsequent inroads of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and the Marathas. The Delhi emperors then lost all power in the province, which became the arena of a deadly struggle between Marathas, Afghans and Sikhs, lasting till the end of the century. The unsettled state of affairs on the plains thus compelled traders and others, going to Kashmir, to select the safer route through the outer hills. The petty chiefs levied toll on all merchandise passing through their territory, and it was to this circumstance that both Basohli and Jammu owed their rise about the middle of the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ This trade route passed through Nahan, Bilaspur, Haripur, Nurpur and Basohli to Jammu.

The *Vansavali* brings the long account of Amrit Pal's reign to a close by recording that an astrologer had foretold the day of his death. He therefore, made over the state to his son, Bijai Pal, and left in the middle of the Holi festival for Benares, where he died in about 1776 A.D., at the age of thirty-two, after one year of abdication, and having reigned nineteen years.⁸⁸

Bijai Pal, A.D. 1776—At the time of his accession he was just a boy of about 13 years. During those times of chaos he could not save Basohli from the enemies. The state, therefore slipped head long towards decline. The Sikh *misl*s had plundered and occupied all the plain country of the Punjab and were penetrating into the hills, and levied blackmail from the petty Rajas, whose prosperous condition doubtless had stimulated their cupidity. Ranjit Dev of Jammu by his wise policy managed for a time to ward off disaster, but under his son and successor, Brijraj Dev, the town of Jammu was caputred and sacked by Hakikat Singh Kanhiya and Maha Singh Sukarchakia, father of Ranjit Singh.⁸⁹

Basohli met a similar fate, but there it was Raj Singh, the warlike chief of Chamba, who took the first opportunity to avenge the insult he had sustained at the hands of Amrit Pal during his minority. In 1782 he invaded the state, captured Basohli and sacked it ; and only restored the country on payment of a lakh of rupees. The date of the conquest is recorded on a stonelet into

87. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 607-608,

88. Kahan Singh Balaria, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

89. Charak, S.D.S. : *Maharaja Ranjit Dev and the Rise of Jammu Kingdom*, pp. 69-70.

the payment in front of the temple of Lakshmi-Narain at Chamba. It reads : Sam. 58. Chet par. *Basohli da shahr fata kita.*⁹⁰ "On the first of Chet of the year 58 (1782) the town of Basohli was conquered." Shortly afterwards the traveller, George Forster, passed through the outer hills on his way to Jammu in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader and crossed the Ravi at Basohli on the 10th April 1783. He observed.

"In the ferry boat were two Sicques going to the fort, of which a detachment they belonged to, had taken possession, in consequence of being called into the assistance of the Bissouly chief. Though this be the result of every connection made with the Sicques, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war. A bordering chief (Raj Sing of Chamba) had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants, and burned their villages, before any opposition was made. The sicques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation, and refused to relinquish it.⁹¹ The traveller was painfully struck by the desolate appearance of the country owing to the recent war.

The cause of enmity and perpetual war was between the two States was the possession of the districts of Bhalai and Jundh, which were situated on the common borders of the two States, and had changed hands several times during the previous centuries. The extant documents show that in the middle of the 17th century these districts were restored to Chamba by a decision of the Mughal Court, after having been in the possession of Basohli for some time. They again reverted to Basohli in the reign of Medini Pal on whom they were bestowed by the Emperor,⁹² and were retaken by Chamba in A.D. 1758 in the time of Raja Uned Singh (A.D. 1748-64). Amrit Pal reasserted the claim of Basohli and with the help of Ranjit Dev of Jammu seized the territory in 1774. On the death of Ranjit Dev in 1782 his son and successor, Brijraj Dev, acting as lord paramount, restored three *parganas* to Chamba, along with those of Bhandal, Kihar and Diyar which had evidently remained in the hands of Basohli. Since the invasion of 1774.⁹³ The Tankari letter from Brijraj Dev conveying the territory to Chamba is still preserved and is dated 15th Bhadon S. 57 (A.D. 1782). Another

90. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 88-89

91. *George Forster's Travels* vol. I, p. 135.

92. *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, p. 67, c-11.

93. *Ibid*, p. 70, No. G. 25 ; C. 30 and C. 31.

Tankari document from the same source, dated 18th *Bhadon* S. 59 (A.D. 1784). repeats the same statement. "The meaning of these documents evidently is that on Ranjit Dev's death Raj Singh of Chamba applied to his successor for a restoration of the *parganas*, which was granted on condition of service. On Basohli refusing compliance, the State was invaded and the territory seized by force, and the second document confirmed Raj Singh in possession. From all this it is evident that at that period both Basohli and Chamba regarded Jammu as their suzerain.⁹⁴ On Raj Singh's death, in 1794, however, Bijai Pal of Basohli again made inroads into the frontier districts of Bhalai and Jundh, in consequence of which Jit Singh of Chamba retaliated by invading Basohli and only restored it on promise of payment of a war indemnity⁹⁵. A *Tankari* letter dated 5th *Savan* S. 73—A.D. 1797 may possibly refer to this indemnity. In it Bijai Pal promises to pay by instalments the amount due to Chamba.

Kahan Singh Balaoria extols Bijai Pal as a Prince wedded to his religion and as a munificent ruler. He gives a list of grants given by him to religious persons and to others in reward for their services. Among the beneficiaries were Ram Niwas Raina and some Gujrati brahamans.⁹⁶ There are two copper-plate title-deeds of his reign still extant: one is dated in S. 1846 (A.D. 1789), and the other S. 1848 (A.D. 1791. Two *pattas* of this Raja are also with the family of Panda Kunj Lal of Basohli.

Bijai Pal had three *ranis*, the eldest was the daughter of Raja Dalel Dev, second son of Maharaja Ranjit Dev. The other two had no male issue. He had one son from the first *rani*. He was named Mahendar Pal.⁹⁷

Mahendar Pal A.D. 1806. The days of the independence of the Hill Chiefs were coming to a close when he succeeded his father in 1806 A.D. He was a man of fine taste and love for art. He greatly embellished the Basohli palace and added to it the Rang Mahal and Shish Mahal. These apartments were painted with *nayika* and *kok shastra* themes,⁹⁸ He married a daughter of the Raja of Jasrota by whom he had a son, named Bhupendar Pal, born in the year of his accession.⁹⁹ He concluded a compact with

94. *J.P.H.S.* vol. IV, No. 2, 1916, p. 94.

95. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 102,

96. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

98. Kahan Singh Balaoria *op. cit.*, p. 67.

99. *Cot of Bhuri Singh Museum of Chamba* p. 73, C, 55 and C, 56,

Jit Singh of Chamba in S. 82—A.D. 1806, which is preserved in the Chamba archives. It is noteworthy that in it the Basohli Chief has only the title 'Mian' which perhaps indicates that his father was then still alive. Soon afterwards in 1808-9 the whole of the Hill States came under the control of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and paid tribute to him. Mahendar Pal had to go frequently to Lahore, and in 1813, on the way back, he was taken ill at Amritsar and died. He had reigned only seven years.¹⁰⁰

Bhupinder Pal, A. D. 1813, From an early part of his reign Ranjit Singh began to turn his attention to the hills. Pathankot was annexed in 1808 and Kangra with the States of Jalandhar Circle became tributary in 1809 after the fall of Raja Sansar Chand Katoch of Kangra. After that the independence of the Hill States completely passed away. Basohli had by this time become completely subject to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Bhupender Pal had therefore to visit Lahore court frequently and was now and then entrusted with the command of military expeditions in the hills. He was about to set out on one of these, and was returning from Lahore to make the necessary preparations, when he was taken ill at Amritsar, in the same way as his father, and died there,¹⁰¹ in November, A.D. 1834. He had reigned twenty-one years, and was the last ruler of Basohli who exercised any real power. He was also a patron of painting, and made Dogri the official language of the State,

Kalyan Pal, A.D. 1834—Kalyan Pal, the last of the Balaoria Rajas, was born on 2nd Pau, Vik. 1891 (17th December, A.D. 1834), two months after his father's death. Vigne notes that when he first passed through Basohli, Probably in June 1835, the Raja was dead, but the Rani sent some fruit as a present. Vigne was evidently unaware of the fact that the deceased Raja had left an infant son, who was then in the palace with the Rani, his mother, a Bhotial Princess.¹⁰² Being suspicious of the designs of Ranjit Singh, who had annexed many of the other Hill States and transferred some of these as Jagirs to his favourites, the grandmother of the Raja, a Jasrota Princess, who acted as Regent, sought to remove many of the jewels and other valuables to a place of safety. For this object she utilised the services of several Brahman advisers in whom she had confidence. Those Brahmanas however, turned this opportunity for enriching themselves at the expense of the state. The elders of the family. Mian Zalim Singh and Mian Lajan

100. Kahan Singh Balaoria *op. cit.*, p- 67.

101. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

102. *H.P.H.S.*, vol. II., p. 612.

Singh, who were loyal well wishers of the State, saw all this helplessly. Unable to exercise any control over the headstrong Rani Mian Lajan-Singh who held the relationship of grandfather to young Raja, finally went to Lahore and acquainted Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the state of affairs. Thereupon orders were issued that Mian Lajan Singh should have charge of the State during the Raja's minority. This arrangement very much antagonised the Rani and her Brahman advisers to Mian Lajan Singh and they determined to kill him on his return.

The faction of the Rani won over Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur and Wazir Nathu of Chamba for her cause. The Chamba Wazir was particularly concerned over the affair as Lajan Singh had also got the assignment of Jhund and Bhalai, occupied by Chamba for many years in the past, written out for Basohli. The Shahpur territory, occupied by the Raja of Nurpur after the death of Raja Bhupendar Pal, was ordered back to Basohli by efforts of Lajan Singh. Both the rulers, therefore, supported the interests of the regent Rani. An intrigue to kill Lajan on his return was, therefore, hatched.¹⁰³ One attempt having failed, Harbhaj *purohit*, a trusted friend of Lajan Singh, was bribed for treachery, and he inveigled him into palace unarmed on the pretence that the Rani wished to see him. Once inside the palace he was at once set upon and pushed into a dark well, called *Drug*, along with his younger brother, Man Singh, who had accompanied him. There he was done to slow, agonising death in the most cruel manner, and Man Singh was also subjected to similar tortures. But he was fortunate to have survived this torture and was later rescued by soldiers from Lahore whom Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent on hearing of the incident.¹⁰⁴

This happened in A.D. 1836, and it sealed the fate of the State. On hearing of the occurrence Ranjit Singh, on 2nd Jeth, 1893 (14th May, 1836) by a *sanad* still extant, conveyed the State in *Jagir* to his favourite, Raja Hira Singh of Jammu, and the latter deputed Mian Mahtab Singh Trikotia as his deputy in charge of the administration. A short time previous to this, Jasrota State had been conformed on Raja Hira Singh as a fief by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and the two States adjoined each other.

Meanwhile Raja Kalyan Pal was under the care of his mother and resided in the palace at Basohli, while the old officials continued to rule the State in subordination to Raja Hira Singh.

103. Kahan Singh Balaoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 70—72.

104. *Ibid*, pp. 72—73.

Kalyan Pal was at that time about two years old. He was once sent for to Jasrota by Raja Hira Singh and was accompanied by his mother and other elderly ladies, retinue and a few Brahmans. He stayed there for several months as State guest. After some time, Raja Hira Singh's adviser, Pandit Jalla, persuaded the Raja to effect Kalyan Pal's murder on the ground that in case he lived, Basohli State might some day be restored to him. However, Wazir Bachna saved the child and informed Raja Dhian Singh of the fact, Raja Dhian Singh ordered that the infant Raja be entrusted to his maternal uncle Rai Kesari Singh of Kahna Chak. Kasari Singh sent his men and carried Kalyan Pal and his camp to Kanhna Chak under his care, where they used to receive Rs. 5,000 annually from Basohli treasury in addition to a sum from Jasrota.¹⁰⁵

In view of Raja Hira Singh's ill intentions the fief of Basohli seems to have been transferred to the care of Raja Suchet Singh. In February, 1839 Basohli was visited a second time by Vigne, the traveller and he notes that the State was then under the control of Raja Suchet Singh of Ramnagar, youngest brother of Gulab Singh of Jammu, and uncle of Hira Singh. It indicates that the control of the State had changed hands in the interval.¹⁰⁶

Raja Suchet Singh was killed in March, 1844, and Raja Hira in December the same year. They were declared rebels and hence their estates confiscated by the Lahore *sarkar*. A sikh officer, Ranjod Singh, governor of the Hills, with the aid of Wazir Shama of Nurpur, invaded Basohli and occupied the Palace and Fort. The Balauria royal family therefore shifted their habitat to Balaur. After some time Maharani Jindan assigned Basohli to her maid-servant, Manglan. Thus the affairs of Basohli remained in chaos. The Rajput chiefs of the place, however, were not reconciled to the Sikh rule. They were on the look out to drive them out.

In 1845 the first Sikh War afforded a favourable opportunity for action, and the State officials gathered a force and expelled the Sikh garrison from Basohli and seated the youthful Raja, aged eleven years, on the *gaddi*. But his fortune was short-lived, for soon afterwards, in March, 1846, the whole of the Hill tracts between the Ravi and the Indus were transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu.¹⁰⁷

105. *Ibid*, pp. 75-76.

106. *H.P.H.S., op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 612-13

107. *Ibid*, p. 613 ; Also see S.D.S. Charak's *History and Culture of Himalayan States* Vol. V, appendix on Treaty of Amritser, March—1846.

To Kalyan Pal was assigned a pension of Rs. 3,000 on the 16th March 1846. In 1850 he married a Princess of the Sirmaur family and later a daughter of the exiled Raja of Mankot, and he died without issue in 1857. His Sirmauri Rani predeceased him and the Mankoti Rani continued to live in the palace at Basohli for many years after his death. In the receipt of a pension of Rs. 1,500 a year from Jammu. With Kalyan Pal ended the main line of the Balauria Rajas, but numerous branches of the family are still found in the hills. The only monument remaining of the departed glory of Balauria Princes was the old palace, which their rivals and final conquerors, the Rajas of Jammu, allowed to fall into decay¹⁰⁸.

Basohli with Bhadu and Mankot were made a *tahsil* in the Jasrota District of Jammu. But soon afterwards districts were reorganised and Basohli *tahsil* was made a part of Kathua District.

In the collection of miniatures in the Lahore Museum the Balaurinas are well represented, as it contains portraits of Bhupat Pal, Hindal Pal, Kripal Pal, Medini Pal, Jit Pal, Mahendar Pal and Bhpendar Pal. These and some later rulers like Amrit Pal, were great patrons of a style of Pahari painting which is known all the world over as Basohli school of miniatures. It shows an archaic character and seems to have originated in quite an early times but it was in Raja Sangram Pal's reign (1635-1673) that a new style appeared in the principality which was further developed and popularised by his nephew, Raja Kirpal Pal, Dhiraj Pal (1693-1722), Medini Pal (1722-1736) and Amrit Pal. The pictures of Shiva and Devi and illustrations of the *Bhagvata Purana* were the earliest in this new style done under the patronage of Kirpal Pal and Sangram Pal. Next was the illustration of a *Rasamanjari* painted by the painter Devi Dass under commission from Kirpal Pal. It was the most 'dazzling achievement' in Basohli style. An illustrated manuscript of the *Gita Govinda* by Manaku done in about 1730, in Basohli style was its culminating achievement. Afterwards the Basohli style seems to have been invaded by the Kangra influence and almost merged in it during Amrit Pal's reign. The pure Basohli style produced world's most charming and unique miniatures characterised by "vigour and the quality of simplicity." The best specimens of Basohli style "possess a quality of frankness, vitality and vigour which is not seen elsewhere¹⁰⁹." The peculiar quality is the use of

108. *Ibid.* p. 613.

109. Randhawa, M.S., *Basohli Painting*, p. 26.

extremely warm colours which renders them the hottest paintings ever produced. 'Colour appeal' is its unique feature. The landscape is treated as decoration. Highly stylised trees, a characteristic facial formula with receding forehead, greatly enlarged lotus eyes, scanty head hair, and bolder use of colours make Basohli one of the most outstanding schools of Indian paintings.

APPENDIX

The following is a descriptive account of Basohli as it was about 1900 A.D.. which may give some idea of the past glory of the town although it was much in decay at that late date :

Basohli is estimated to contain about 1,500 houses, with a population of about 7,000 viz. ;—

700 houses	...	...Hindus
300 „	...	...Kashmiri Muhammadans
100 „	...	...Hill Muhammadans
200 „	...	...Shops in bazar
150 „	...	...Shawl-bafs
50 „	...	...Miscellaneous trades.

The houses are well built of mud and dressed stone, with flat mud roofs supported on beams of timber : a long street of shops runs through the town from north-west to south-east from which point it bends to the north and extends to within a short distance of the palaces ; in the by-streets are numerous gardens.

There are three strong places in Basaoli, which are all situated towards the north-east end of the town, viz., an old fort now used as a treasury, the palace, and the fort of Devi Kala' built on the site of an old Hindu temple.

The old fort, which is situated close to the town, is perched on the top of a limestone cone, which rises to a height of about 75 feet from the surrounding plain ; it is a small masonry building, about 60 feet square, with a bastion at each corner and a dry well in the middle of the enclosure. The walls are cracked and rotten, and it has no armament, being used only as a treasury.

The palace, which stands a little to the north, on the other side of a large tank, is an old square building contained by very high walls, which seem fast decaying. It is at present occupied as a residence by the widowed rani of Kalian Pal, raja of Belaor.

The Devi Kala is a masonry building, seemingly in good repair. It occupies the crest of the ridge which runs almost parallel to the town on the north-east, at the distance of about half a mile, rising to a height of about 300 feet above the level of the town. The sides of the ridge are steep and abrupt, and covered with scrub jungle, the fort occupies the highest point of the crest just before it drops down into the Ravi.

There is a path which leads upto the fort from the direction of the palace, which must be very steep ; it could, however, be easily approached from the north-west along the ridge.

The forms of the work appears to be an irregular square, with demi-bastions at intervals, and a large bastion at the south-east corner, facing the town and river ; the walls, which are loop-(holed), seem to be about 40 feet high. The fort is said to be armed with three guns, with a garrison of about fifty men, and to have a spring just outside the walls in addition to the usual tank inside. This fort is also sometimes used as a prison.

Basaoli is well supplied with water, as, in addition to the near vicinity of the Ravi, there are in the town two large and other small tanks, five springs and numerous wells. Of the tanks, the largest is that in front of the palace. It is fed by a stone drain from the hills to the north, and holds a supply of water in the driest season of the year.

There are a considerable number of shawls manufactured in Basaoli, but they are inferior in workmanship and material to those made in Kashmir. The shawl-bafs however, enjoy liberties and immunities which are denied to the same class in the valley. The Pashm is imported from Kashmir. and is sold at Basaoli at the rate of Rs. 10 (British Currency) a Wulti (equal to one and three quarters seers), an advance of about 25 per cent ; this is adulterated with Wahabshaihi Pashm. which costs here about Rs. 6 for the same weight.

The valley in which Basaoli stands is flat and highly cultivated ; it stretches for about 6 miles to the south-west, and is dotted with numerous trees and divided into fields by hedges of prickly pear.

Supplies are cheap and abundant milder and more obliging in their manners.

Badrawar

Their language, which is a Patois, or dialect of Hindsutani, varies very considerably in different localities.

In the time of the Badrawar rajas, the province was divided into the following Parganas :—

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Athkai. | The upper ilaka |
| 2. Badrawar. | |
| 3. Gata. | From the jigla tarra or lower ilaka |
| 4. Udrana. | |
| 5. Hazrah. | |

6. Killar.
7. Tarmara.
8. Bedota.
9. Barasao.
10. Turraon.
11. Suwar.
12. Gadyara.
13. Bela.
14. Chinta.
15. Busnota.
16. Manota.
17. Pinagal.
18. Chille.
19. Nelle.
20. Jetota

} Included in the Peliassa ilaka

...(Bates-Drew)

Gaz. of K & L., 1890, p. 185.

Bhadrawah (Bhadravaksa) State

1

INTRODUCTION

Bhadrawah is a very mountainous region, and for this reason and difficulty of passes and the deep gorge of the Chandra-Bhaga river, it was not traversed by any important or much frequent routes. It was drained by the Karney Gad and Ker Gad streams whose united waters flow into the Chandra-Bhaga river near the Janglwar valley and the Neru river, which joins it opposite Doda. The small valleys are exceedingly fruitful, producing surplus rice. The chief valley is that in which the town of Bhadrawah is located. This is a nearly flat valley about a mile in width, bounded by the ends of spurs from the forest-ridges, specked by cultivated ground at different levels. The valley bottom had a slope of about 3°. The land was terraced to this fall in steps of a few feet each. The valleys are thickly studded with villages connected with one another by hedgerows.

The houses were generally low single-storeyed buildings of mud and timber, a large stone with a hole in it, or a *gharha* (pitcher) fixed on the flat roof, supplying the place of chimney. Some better sort of houses were double-storeyed, and had pent roofs.

The Bhadrawah town is situated in a beautiful and highly cultivated valley lying about a kilometre to the west of the river Neeru, which flows beneath the town in a deep channel between high bands and strewn with large boulders. During the later half of the nineteenth century there were about seven hundred houses and some three thousand inhabitants. The town had an open market place, a long straight street leading to the fort commanding it from the west. There were two or three other bazars, two mosques and a large Naga temple. The water of one of the streams ran through the very middle of the town, and branches from it were brought through all the streets which were roughly paved with stones and were uneven and dirty. The fort was a large square building, situated on a hill about 300 feet high, built chiefly of large blocks of slate clay. It had bastions on each corner; the walls were loopholed for musketry. It used to mount four guns and was garrisoned by fiftymen.

A large part of population were Kashmiris who had migrated from Kashmir from time to time carrying with their traditional craft of shawl weaving. But the shawls manufactured in Bhadrawah were of a coarse description, the shawl-bafs, however, enjoyed considerable freedom. The traveller G.T. Vigne who visited the district in 1842 A.D. states that the town was celebrated for the manufacture of very prettily carved combs, cut from the wood of the byr-apple or jejube. The tobacco produced in Bhadrawa valley was highly esteemed and much sought after by the neighbouring people. The fruit of Bhadrawah was said to rival in excellence that grown in Kashmir. Honey was plentiful in and of a superior quality and flavour. The valley produced in abundance a species of *kursu* grass used as fodder for goats. The manner of preserving hay was peculiar to Bhadrawah and interesting too. A double row of poles was fixed in the ground under the protection of trees; between these rows of poles the hay was built up into a wall some 20 feet high, about 20 feet long and 2 feet broad. A cross pole running along the top supported the narrow roof over the stock. Another plan was to twist the grass into a loose fat rope and to throw this over the forks or boughs of trees, where hanging down, it was unharmed by snow, and was easily pulled down when wanted for use.

The Bhadrawah State and country, mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as Bhadravaksa, was a small principality which played a very subordinate part in the politics and history of the time. For that reason it finds only casual references in the chronicle of Kashmir

twice.¹ The state always included the two valleys of the Niru and the Kargad or Bhalesa Nalas both of which are tributaries of the Chenab. It was bounded on the north by Kashtwar, on the east by Chamba, on the south by Balor or Basohli, and on the west by Chaneni,² and corresponded precisely with the present *tahsil* of the same name.³ The principal portion of the State was Bhadrawah Proper, situated in the picturesque valley of Niru, of which the ancient name was Bhadravakasa. The lower portion of the valley, from Kalend to the Chenab, is now called Khasali.

“The Happy Region”, as the ancient name of Bhadrawah literally means, is “the prettiest country” which G. T. Vigne had ever seen in the mountains, “with the exception of Kashmir.”⁴ The road which runs continually on an ascent along the left bank of the Bhadrawah stream, opens upon an amphitheatre, the Bhadrawah valley, whose lower grounds are covered with rice-fields, whilst the flats and easy slopes around it are much cultivated, thickly studded with villages, which are usually over-shadowed by noble deodar-trees. This is nearly a flat-bottomed valley, a mile in width; in length it extends thus open for about four miles, above and below narrowing so as to leave hardly any space between the hill slopes. The hills which bound it are the ends of spurs from the forest ridges. The waters of one of the streams come through the Valley to the very middle of the town and branches from it are brought through all the streets. Both in and among the buildings and all round the place fruit trees are growing—apple, pear, mulberry, apricot, and cherry and there are poplars and a few *Chinar* or plane trees. These characteristics, combined with the bracing climate in summer and the presence of a number of Kashmiri people “have gained for it the name “Chhota Kashmir”, or ‘Little Kashmir’”⁵

The local tradition says that the ancient capital of the state was called Dughanagar, which stood where Satingal now stands, near the confluence of the Niru and the Halon Nalas. But since its known history, Bhadrawah town, also called Naggar, i.e., ‘the

1. Stein, M. A., *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., viii. 501; Vol. II, p. 43.
2. *J. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Calcutta, 1916, p. 117.
3. Bhadrawah is separated from Balaor by the Chatar Dhar Range in which is situated the Kund Kaplas mountain; farther west the same range, there called Dodhera, divides Bhadrawah from Chaneni. Towards the north the Chandrabhaga river and the Bhanjwah Nala or Kali Nai form the boundary between Bhadrawah and Kashtwar. On the east the Dagani Dhar separates Bhadrawah from Chamba.
4. Vigne, G. T., *Travels*, 1842, Vol. I, p. 194.
5. Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* pp. 103-4.

town', has been the capital. It is situated in the upper Niru Valley, on an open and fertile plain on the left bank of the river. A little before the middle of the nineteenth century (1842), "the town was nearly twice as large as Kishtwar and containing between two and three hundred houses. A great population of all these mountain towns are Kashmirians who have fled thither to avoid the exactions of the Sikh governors of their native country".⁶ The town progressed much during the reigns of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh, and it became, "a busy and, for such a country, a comparatively large place" with "600 or 700 houses and about 3000 inhabitants."⁷ It has an open market-place or *chaugan* in the centre, a long straight street leading to the Fort, two or three other bazars, two mosques, and a large temple, dedicated to Basak Nag or Bas-Dev. The town is at an elevation of 5400 feet above the sea which gives the place an agreeable temperature even during summer. More than half of its inhabitants are of Kashmiri origin.

In former days the town was built almost entirely of deodar wood; the framework of the houses was altogether of wood, only between the double plank-walls the spaces were filled in with stones, sometimes laid loose and sometimes connected with mud; Most of the houses had a sloped shingle-roof.⁸

The direction of the principal bazar is south-westerly, and upwards towards the castle, which commands the town at an elevation of about 300 feet above the town. It is a large square building of combined wood and stone, with bastions of masonry work. "It is altogether a stronger-looking place than most of the hill forts, but is commanded from the wooded eminence behind it." Near by were some remains of the former residence of the old Rajas.⁹ The fort is called Rantagarh, and was held by a garrison as late as the forties of this century.¹⁰

The other old foundations in Bhadrawah valley are a few temples which tradition assigns to the eleventh or twelfth century. Of these the shrine of Basak Nag in Bhadrawah town is an important religious edifice which is dedicated to the presiding divinity of the valley. With a shrine to Kali behind it, is 'believed to be the oldest shrine in the country', and one of the four which represent the old cult of snake-worship which has been the

6. Vigne, B. T., *op. cit.*, p. 194.

7. Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 104.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Vigne, G. T., *op. cit.*, p. 187; Drew, F., *op. cit.*, p. 105.

10. J. P. H. S., Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 118.

predominant creed of the people of Bhadrawah. This creed gave rise to comprehensive and complex Naga legends, reminiscences probably of the supremacy of Naga tribe in these hills in the forgotten ancient times. The other three temples associated with this legend are also dedicated to the snake gods, one of them to Basak or Vasuki Nag. It is situated in the village Bhejjauparla (the upper Bhejja) in the foot of the Padri Pass. The third shrine, dedicated to Basaki's elder brother, Santan Nag, is situated in the village of Satingal, on the route to the Padari Pass. The fourth shrine dedicated to Baski's younger brother, called Savar Nag, "who is much dreaded for his bad temple", lies near Chintah picturesquely situated in the midst of a cluster of majestic deodar trees.¹¹

The only Vaisanava temple in the valley is at Nagar, a recent construction, built in a mixed style which is very common in Jammu region for this kind of shrines. The Naga shrines, however, have a very simple structure, having a square cella built of layers of stones alternating with wooden beams, surrounded by a verandah and covered with a conical wooden roof. "This style, which is peculiar to Devi temples also, must be very ancient, as Devi and Naga worship undoubtedly represents the primitive cult of the Panjab hills"¹².

An interesting institution attached to these shrines was that of a *pujari* and a *Chela* or disciple (from Sanskrit 'Cheta'¹³. The *chela* belonged to the agricultural, caste of the Meghs. In the case of the Baski Naga temple at Bhejauparla, which had two *chelas*, the other one used to be a Thakkur. The *pujari* as usual belonged to the Brahman caste, and held only a secondary place. The *chela* was an important attendant of the shrine ; for it was he who used to be possessed by the deity, who was supposed to prophesy through his mouth. In popular notion this state of being possessed, which was marked by a feigned or real ecstasy, was called '*nachna*' (to dance), and was accompanied by utterances of predictions. These *chelas* are generally prudent soothsayers, whose utterances are couched in such words as to be interpreted any way to prove that whatever he said has come true. In hill shrines dedicated to the snake-gods, Devi and *deotas* or local deities, the institution of *chela* was indispensable.

Bhadrawah has two other ancient *tirths* of great repute, of

11. *Ibid*, 119.

12. *H. P. H. S.* Vol. II, 617.

13. *Arch. Sur., Annual Progress Report on Panjab*, 1904.

which one is associated with the Basak Naga. This is the lake, the supposed abode of Basak, on the top of Kund Kaplas or Kamalas (probably Kamalashya--lotus pond), some 14,241 ft. above sea level. It is a place of yearly pilgrimage. The other *tirth* is the mountain-top which rises immediately to the south-east of the Padari Pass, called 'Sona Bain', 12,418 ft. above sea. The word is derived from the Sanskrit *Suvarnavapi*, the golden tank, and has a curious legend about its origin. It narrates that there was once a tank built of golden bricks on this peak. A certain Brahman used to visit the spot mounted on his *Panch-Kalyani* steed, i.e., horse possessed of five white auspicious spots one each of his hoof and forehead. Once his wife persuaded him to bring her some of the golden bricks. But on his next visit he found the golden tank buried under the snow forever.

2. HISTORY

The history of Bhadrawah is shrouded in obscurity. It is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* only twice. The local annals and legends are only a few sketchy anecdotes. The only other source of information are *Vansavalis* of the neighbouring States of Chamba, Balaor and Kishtwar who established their dominance over this State from time to time. In histories of Muslim period it seldom finds any mention. The scantiness of information on the history of Bhadrawah is due to the fact that it played no important part in the events of the region and it has been a subordinate principality most of its existence.

(a) Legendary and Proto-historical Period.

Like all other States of Jammu Hills Bhadrawah has a few legends concerning the establishment of the State and its first king as well as the Naga (snake) worship in the valley. The interesting myth current among the people has reference to Basak Naga, the snake-god who is worshipped all over the hills. He is also called Bas-Dev and is regarded as the patron divinity as well as the first Raja of the valley.

The legend probably refers to a time when Naga-worship was being supplanted by Vaishnavism and the former creed had to withdraw to the inaccessible regions of the Himalaya. It narrates that Basak Naga¹⁴ originally dwelt in Kashmir. As a result of some mischief he fled from that Valley pursued by the Garuda or vehicle (*vahan*) of Vishnu. He took shelter on the Kund Kaplas peak, the highest spot in Bhadrawah.

14. Basak Naga is mentioned in Sanskrit literature under the name of Vasuki and is considered the King of the Nagas.

The habitation of Kashmir Valley by the Nagas and the ejection of some of them later has been referred to in Kashmir legends. The *Nilamata-Purana* states that the Nagas, the Daityas, the Danavas, the Khasas, the Garudas, etc., are the sons of Kasyapa and his wife Kadru, the daughter of Daksa. On account of enmity of Nagas with Garuda, their chief Vasuki approached Vishnu who granted them safety in Satisara (Kashmir) and appointed Nila as their king.¹⁵ The Kashmir legend further informs that one Naga named Sadangula used to kidnap the female consorts of men, so the Naga king Nila exiled him from Kashmir and allotted to him the Mount Usiraka in the land of Darva, where Vishnu granted him security¹⁶ Mount Usiraka is probably the Kund Kaplas peak of Bhadrawah. In the Bhadrawah version of legend Vasuki himself has been mentioned in place of Sadangula. Both versions of Naga legend agree in ejection of Naga tribe from the Kashmir Valley and their withdrawal to the un-inhabited and more remote valleys where they found some respite from persecution at the hands of their enemy tribe, the Garudas, or the worshippers of Vishnu.

One version of the legend runs that Garuda pursued Basak Naga wherever he went. At last Basak Naga jumped into the lake. Garuda however, cut across a corner and water started draining out. The Naga propitiated goddess Saraswati, who cleft a bank of her *Kund* or lake situated higher up and consequently Kund Kaplas lake once again became full of water. Garuda became disappointed and withdrew to Kashmir Valley. But the more popular version substitutes Kali in place of Saraswati. It narrates that goddess Kali was originally in possession of Bhadrawah. When in his flight Basak Naga arrived in the Valley, she took pity on him and granted him her own kingdom, "She seated Bas Dev in her own place and took her position behind him, and whatever charters are written are in the name of the first Raja, Bas Dev"¹⁷ This legend explains the fact of Kali's temple being behind that of Basak Naga's mentioned above. This at the same time points to the fact of amalgamation of Naga, Kali and Shakti cults in one creed of Saivism as opposed to Vaishnavism.

The cult of Kali in the form of Bhadrakali was once dominant creed of the region. In fact the locality derives its name from Bhadrakali, whose home it was before she gave it to Vasuki when he

15. Ved Kumari, Dr., *Nilamata Purana*, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.

16. *Nilamata Purana*, verses 965-69.

17. *Vansavali* of the Bhadrawah ruling family.

supplicated her for refuge and protection to escape the fury of Garuda.¹⁸

The Basak Naga legend narrates that the goddess Kali was his sister. She had two other brothers, Mahl Nag and Savar Nag, the one older and the other younger than Basak Nag. Basak, however, was a great favourite of the Kali who connived to make him the first king of Bhadrawah without offending the other brothers. She had offered her kingdom to them. Now the question was who should become the Raja? The three brothers agreed that whichever of them should first see the sun in the morning should be king of the valley. The Kali managed to conceal the sun from her two other brothers in order to favour Basak Nag, and thus it came about that Basak Nag became the first Raja of Bhadrawah.

The interpretation of the myth may probably be that Bhadrakali is a personification of the thunderstorm. Its name implies "the blessed black one"¹⁹, and her attributes—the trident, the mace, the tabor and cup—symbolise thunder, lightning and rain. It also explains her close association with the snake-gods, her brothers, who like her are givers of rains and causers of storms. It was in that capacity that she was able to conceal the morning sun from the other two brothers, so that it could be seen by Basak Nag who was believed to have his abode on the highest peak in Bhadrawah. The authors of *HPHS* opine that taken for granted that popular legends have their origin in the minds of reasonable beings, it may be assumed that "though seemingly absurd they are yet susceptible of a reasonable interpretation."²⁰ The migration of Naga tribe to the valley and its occupation by them leading to assimilation of the earlier with the new, seems to be a plausible interpretation of the legend in terms of history, and a sectarian revolution in the Kashmir Valley, in terms of religion.

A second legend, seemingly a historical event, sheds glimpses of a proto-historical dynasty described in the *Vansavali* of Bhadrawah ruling family. This takes us back to the *Mahabharata* era when this dynasty ruled in the valley, with its capital at Dughanagara. Only two names of the rulers of this dynasty have been recorded in the *Vansavali*. These are, Jobnath, the founder of the dynasty and his heir-apparent, Meghnath. As they are supposed to have been contemporary of the Pandavas, they may be taken as purely

18. Ganhar, J. N., *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 24; Nargis, N. D., *Tarikh-I-Dogra Des*, p. 167.

19. *A.S.I. Annual Progress Report*, Punjab 1904.

20. *JPHS*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Calcutta, 1916, p. 119.

mythical²¹. In this legend the *Pach-Kanlyani* horse figures once again. It is narrated that the Pandavas wanted to perform *Asvamedha* sacrifice for which purpose they required a *Panch-Kalyani* horse. Such a horse was finally found with Jobnath which the Pandavas sought to carry away by force. In the battle that was fought near Dughanagar, Jobnath and his heir-apparent Meghnath were killed and thus the dynasty came to an end. Possibly the stray names of some Rajas or Ranas of an ancient date have been preserved in the incident around which the myth of Pandava invasion has been woven in order to show its antiquity, for Pandavas in popular conception represent great antiquity.

(b) Historical Period : Ancient and Medieval

The authentic history of Bhadrawah begins from tenth century when a portion of the valley was conquered by Radhik Pal the younger brother of the Raja of Balor, presumably from the Ranas. As everywhere in the hills of Jammu and Kangra, so in Bhadrawah, traditions are common of the rule of the Ranas previous to the foundation of kingship. These petty rulers in the Chandrabhaga valley were probably Thakkurs, who still hold a position of influence in that region. In Bhadrawah and Balesa they were mostly Ranas. The events of history which find mention below, reveal that these petty chiefs retained their powers and influence down to as late a period as seventeenth century. Their conflicts with the Rajas have been recorded all through this period.

With Radhik Pal's conquest of Bhadrawah it does not seem to have become a separate independent state. In all probability it became a *jagir*, subject to Balor, in which status it seems to have continued for several centuries before being installed as an independent state. The *Vansavali* of the ruling house contains only sixteen or seventeen names of the local Rajas "and would not therefore carry us back much farther than the 15th century."²² The Bhadrawah ruling family was thus an offshoot of Balor, like that of Bhadu, which had earlier broken off, probably during the thirteenth century. The *Vansavali* therefore claims for Bhadrawahi rulers an origin common with four other ruling houses who trace their lineage from Mayapuri (Haradwar). These are Kulu, Balor and Bhadrawah. Kulu was probably the first to separate from Mayapuri during the early centuries of Christian era. A scion of the Kulu house founded the Vallapura or Balor state during the 8th and 9th century. Bhadu

21. Hutchison, J. and Voghel, J. Ph., "Bhadrawah State", *JPHS.*, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

22. *HPHS.*, Vol II, p. 618.

and Bhadrawah were both offshoots of Balor. This fact is confirmed by the *Vansavali* of the rulers of all the three states. The Bhadrawah *Vansavali* states that another state, Batala, probably the Vartula of the *Rajatarangini*, a small principality on the Chenab near Ramban,²³ was founded by another scion of the Mayapuri family. The ruling house of this principality embraced Islam during Shahjahan's reign.

The eldest and authentic historical mention to Bhadrawah is made in a Chamba copper-plate title deed of Soma Varman and Asata Deva of about 1080 A.D. The *Rajatarangini* also makes mention of Bhadrawah in connection with the pretender to the Kashmir throne, Sahabra Mangala, who was exiled by king Sussala (1101-1128) and resided in Bhadravakasa²⁴. From this we may conclude that Bhadrawah was not subject to Kashmir in the beginning of the 12th century. Most probably it remained as a fief of the parent state of Balor till about fifteenth century, when it became independent under its own local rulers. The list of local Rajas contains only sixteen or seventeen names which would not therefore carry us back much farther than the 15th century. The names of the first eight Rajas are given differently in different records, down to Raja Nag Pal, after which they are in agreement. The *Vansavali* names them as Duari Pal, Kalas Pal, Ichha Pal, Ransingh Pal, Dharm Pal, Bikram Pal, Bishambar Pal, Nag or Than Pal. Thakur Kahan Singh Baluaria gives the following names: Bhadr Pal, Prithvi Pal, Ajai Pal, Kelas Pal, Krishan Pal, Mahan Pal, Nag Pal and Bishambar Pal.

NAG PAL. Of these Nagpal seems to have been an important ruler, and the *Vansavali* makes him contemporary of Akbar (1557-1605). His person was attributed with some super-natural powers and origin. According to one account his father (Bishambar Pal) was married to Rani Kandani, a Kishtwar princess, and died only six months after the marriage and left the princess a widow. The Rani once remained at the Basak Nag temple for one night and became pregnant. In order to make provision against the possibility of doubts concerning the legitimacy of her son, she prayed to the Nag to grant a sign that would remove all suspicions. It is said that the Nag's blessings showered on the pregnant queen and when she gave birth to a son the latter had a snake's hood issuing from his back. For this reason he was given the name of Nag Pal.

Thakur Kahan Singh Balauria gives a slightly different version

23. *Rajatarangini*, Stein's Eng. trans., viii 287-539.

24. *Ibid.* viii, 501, Vol..II, p. 431.

version of the story. He makes Mahan Pal father of Nag Pal and Bishambhar Pal is said to be his son. Mahan Pal grew old without begetting an issue. He therefore, made a vow to the Basak Nag. The deity appeared to him in a dream and assured him of the birth of a son with a special mark. In due course of time a son was born to him with the tail of snake on his back. He was therefore, named Nag Pal. A second son was born to him by another Rani and was named Umed Chand²⁵,

A curious tradition of Nag Pal's encounter with Akbar is current among the local population. Akbar had subdued most of the hill Rajas after 1580, and several of them went to Delhi to pay tribute to the Emperor, Nag Pal being one of these. There it so happened that Nag Pal's attendant fell out with one of the royal water-carriers on the issue of precedence in drawing water from the well. Akbar's '*masaki*' fell into the well. Nag Pal was forthwith summoned to the presence of the Emperor to answer for the conduct of his servant. He submitted that the water was meant to be offered to Basak Nag and hence his servant had to draw water before it was polluted by the royal '*masaki*'. Akbar scornfully enquired who Basak Nag was and called for a proof of his superiority over him. Nag Pal promised to show him the following day and when he again appeared in *Darbar*, a five-hooded snake issued from his turban and threatened to ascend Akbar's throne. At this the Emperor became very much alarmed and promised a boon to the Raja if he would remove the snake. This the Raja did instantly and obtained in return the privilege of the royal drums—*naubat*—which were used at the Bhadarwah palace, and are now beaten in the temple of Basak Nag at Bhadarwah, which the Raja built on returning to his country from the Mughal Court, and which still stands on the spot in the town of Bhadarwah. The temple contains two images, one of Basak Nag and the other of the Raja, both in human form. Both are worshipped as deities to the present day.

In Nag Pal's time Dughanagar was still the capital of the State. Nag Pal also bore the name of Than Pal, and a copper plate of his reign is still extant. It is dated probably in A. D. 1584, but the reading is un-certain.²⁶ Nag Pal is said to have ruled for a hundred years and may have died about A. D. 1620.²⁷

BHAKT PAL. Nag Pal had four sons, of whom the youngest,

25. Kahan Singh Balaoria, Thakurr, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 268.

26. *J. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 122.

27. *Ibid.*

Bhakt Pal, succeeded to the *gaddi*, the elder having all predeceased their father. According to a local history Bhakt Pal was his grandson, being son of Bashambhar Pal. From that time it became the custom for the younger sons of the ruling family to take the suffix of 'Chand' which custom continued till the extinction of the principality. It seems that Ranas held sway in their respective estates till Bhakt Pal's days, and tradition states that they, joined against the Raja and rose in revolt in order to over-throw his yoke. A battle is said to have been fought near Dughanagar at a spot now known as *Chaugan*, as Bhadarwah had not till then been founded. The power of the Ranas was finally crushed in this battle, and they are no longer mentioned in record or tradition after this event which may have taken place about A. D. 1630. It was also in this reign that Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor (Basohli), A. D. 1596—1635, invaded the State occupied it and kept it under his vassalage for some time.²⁸ This was probably about 1628-29.²⁹

DHRUB PAL. Bhakt Pal had three sons, the elder, Dhrub Pal, succeeded to the *gaddi*. The younger one were named Rup Chand and Kumat or Man Chand. The *Vansavali* and other records mention no events of his reign except the grant of a copper-plate by his brother Rup Chand, dated in A. D. 1692. The grant seems to have been made after his death as another copper-plate deed was given by his son, Abhaya Pal, dated A. D. 1691, which may have been the year of his accession.

ABHAYA PAL. C. A.D. 1691—1707. No events of his reign are known except the legend of the destruction of Dughanagara. It is said that his reign was marked by a devastating famine in the valley and people were faced with scarcity and starvation. Basak Nag assumed human form and disguised as a mendicant went from door to door begging food. He only met with rebukes in every house till he went to the hut of an old woman who welcomed him and told him that she had only a few herbs which she could offer him. While serving him herbs she noticed water dripping from his girdle and came to know that he was Basak Nag. As the Nag realised that he had been recognised, he asked the lady not to tell the fact to others. He also revealed to her that Dughanagar was doomed to destruction, but her house would be saved. Accordingly, a few days later a violent storm arose on the Kund Kaplas, the rivers came down in flood and the town was washed away only the old

28. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, No. 1., p. 18.

29. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 123.

woman's house being left standing. The large boulders still covering the plain where Dughanagar once stood, are said to have been hurled down by Basak Nag in his violent fury.

A similar legend has been mentioned by Kalhan also³⁰ concerning the destruction, of Narapura by the Naga Susravas. This Naga, also in human form, was recognised by the tuft of hair dripping water, and the stone waste along the Rambyara river in Kashmir is ascribed to a similar cause to that at the confluence of the Niru and Kalon Nalas in Bhadarwah.

These Naga-legends are frequently found in Brahmanical and Buddhist literature and are now current among the people in the valleys of the Himalayas. These only prove the popularity of the cult of serpent worship all over northern India in hills as well as plains. In plains this cult seems to have been swept away by more advanced cults of later ages, But it has retained its original form in the isolated valleys of the Himalayas. The Nagas are in fact water spirits, and in worshipping them the alternately beneficial and destructive powers of water are propitiated. This worship of water spirit had once become popular among the agriculturist population of India. It goes back undoubtedly to a very remote age, as appears from its frequent mention in ancient literature; and this seems to be the reason why Buddhist authors and sculptors were equally anxious to represent the Naga Kings as converts, and worshippers of the Buddha. It shows that in the early days of Buddhism the Nagas themselves had numerous devotees all over India.”³¹

MEDINI PAL. C. A. D. 1707—1730. Abhaya probably died in 1707 and was succeeded by his son Medini Pal. It is recorded that Medini Pal was invested with *janeo* in A. D. 1707 perhaps on becoming Raja. He is said to have founded the present town of Bhadarwah, and made it his capital. His son, Sampat Pal, was born in Vik. 1767 (A. D. 1710).

His son and successor, Sampat Pal was contemporary of Ranjit Dev. During his reign the fortunes of Bhadarwah began to decline, and the State being small and unable to hold its own against its more powerful neighbours, it was probably always tributary to one or another of them. On the cession of the Panjab in 1752, to Ahmad Shah Durani, Bhadarwah, along with Kashtwar and Chamba, came under the control of Ranjit Dev.³²

30. *Rajatarangni*, Eng. trans, by M. A. Stein, I, VV. 201-275.

31. *Annual Progress Report, Arch. Sut. for 1904*, pp. 65—66.

32. *H. P. H. S.*, Vol. II, p. 624.

The next ruler Fateh Pal, C. 1770, was also a tributary to Ranjit Dev³³. But after the death of the latter in 1782, his successor, Brijraj Dev was unable to maintain direct hold on the outlying state. He therefore, transferred the supremacy over Kastwar and Bhadarwah to Chamba, probably in 1783 and Chamba troops occupied the fort of Bhadarwah.³⁴ The tender of allegiance by Fateh Pal to Chamba and the transfer was the result of an invasion of the State by Chamba, which seems to have been unopposed. When Kashtwar was invaded by Raj Singh of Chamba in 1785, Bhadarwah sent a contingent with Chamba army as a token of allegiance.³⁵ Fateh Pal continued to rule the State as a vassal of Chamba till about 1790, when he was deposed by Raj Singh. Daya Pal, his son, born in 1756 was then made Raja, who entered into a written agreement with Raj Singh, similar to that of his father.³⁶

It seems that Daya Pal too had proved unfaithful, and was removed from power, his uncle Bhup Chand being put in his place, under an agreement which Bhup Chand did not honour. Daya Pal was therefore, restored to power and continued to rule till 1810. It was at the close of his reign that Kashtwar, aided by an army of the Afghan governor of Kashmir, invaded Bhadarwah under Wazir Lakhpat Rai. Wazir Nathu of Chamba opposed the army at Basnota but was defeated, and the capital was captured and burnt, and the invaders retired only after exacting a sum of Rs. 20,000. Soon after, in about 1810, Daya Pal was again driven out of the State and died at Dinanagar.³⁷

The vacant 'gaddi' of Bhadarwah was given to Bhup Chand's son, Pahar Chand, who continued to rule peacefully for some time till in 1820, finding an opportunity, he rebelled and withheld tribute money. The Chamba force under Wazir Nathu, sent to bring back Pahar Chand to allegiance, was defeated. Wazir Nath, however, sought the help of Maharaja Ranjit Singh which the latter agreed on the condition of the surrender of Rihlu fort to him. The fort and *ilaga* of Rihlu, a Chamba territory, was surrendered to Ranjit Singh,

33. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1963, — P. 100. A letter exists in the Chamba archives from Fateh Pal to Raj Singh, dated 22nd Chet, S. 60 (1784) owing allegiance to Chamba. There is also a copy of an agreement which must have been come to about the same time, between Raj Singh and Fateh Pal in which Fateh Pal is acknowledged as Raja of Bhadarwah on certain conditions. *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, c. 36, p. 71; c. 22, p. 70.

34. *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, p. 71, c. 35.

35. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1963., p. 100; *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, p. 70, c. 26; p. 71, c. 38.

36. *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, p. 71, c. 33; 72, c. 42.

37. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1962. p. 101.

and in exchange a Sikh force was sent with Wazir Nathu to compel the Raja of Bhadarwah to comply with terms of the *sanad*³⁸. Seeing that resistance was useless, Pahar Chand partly demolished the Rantagarh Fort and then fled and died at Amritsar. With him the direct line of the Bhadarwah ruling family came to an end.

From 1821 onwards Bhadarwah was ruled by Chamba officials. In 1833, Zorewar Singh Kahluria, commander of Gulab Singh, made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Bhadarwah. In 1845, there took place a change of officials and Chamba appointed Mian Prakim Chand as governor of Bhadarwah. But soon afterwards it was invaded and annexed by Jammu.³⁹

By the Treaty of Amritsar, 16th March 1846, the whole Hill area to the west of the Ravi, was ceded by the British Government to Maharaja Gulab Singh. As the Ravi flows across the Chamba territory a large portion of the State was also included in the transfer. Soon afterwards in the course of the settlement a question arose as to whether it was intended to make over the whole of Chamba or only the trans-Ravi portion. The Raja of Chamba had been tributary of the Sikhs, but he objected to occupying the same position under Gulab Singh. He also claimed Bhadarwah on the strength of the *sanad* granted to him by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The British Government claimed Lakhanpur, which, along with Bhadarwah, had been included in the transfer. Lakhanpur, situated to the west of the Ravi opposite Madhopur, had been in the possession of Nurpur for some time before the annexation of that State, in 1816, to reconcile all these claims and counter-claims ultimated an agreement was reached at whereby Gulab Singh acquired Lakhanpur in exchange for the cis-Ravi portion and Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadarwah in exchange for the trans-Ravi portion of the State. In absence of such an agreement Chamba would have become an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir.⁴⁰

In former times the revenue of Bhadarwah probably never exceeded half a lakh of rupees, but owing to the exploitation of the valuable deodar forests in later years it had risen to a much larger amount.

38. Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, op. cit., p. 105 ; *Chamba Gazetteer* (1963), p. 104; Vigne, *Travels*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 195.

A *Sanad* was probably granted to Nathu Wazir on the occasion which has been referred to by G. T. Vigne. *Travels*, I, p. 195. There is a letter in Persian in B. S. M., which is from Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Raja Charat Singh in which the former expresses his satisfaction that Rihlu Fort and the *ilaga* had been made over, and states that the Bhadarwah State is conferred on Chamba in exchange. It is dated 27th Jeth, Vik. 1878 (June 1821), and was granted at Nurpur Bagh. *Cat. B. S. M.*, p. 73. c. 59.

39. *H. P. H. S.*, Vol. II, p. 628.

40. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1909, pp. 106—109.

Bhadu State

Bhadu, pronounced variously as Padoo, Padua, and spelt Padu by F. Drew¹ and Puddoo by G. Forster², was a small state, consisting only of 36 villages according to Thakur Kahan Singh Balaoria³, from its very inception. Situated in the upper Ujh valley to its east, this state about ten miles in length, was bounded on the north and east by Basohli (Balor), on the south by the Karaidhar range separating it from Jasrota, and on the west by Mankot, now called Ramkot. Its capital Bhadu or Padhu, Padoo of the maps, was situated on the Bhini river, a tributary of the Ujh. According to Thakur Kahan Singh the name has been corrupted from "Paharu" meaning a "hillock" from the low hill on which the town is built⁴. From this name the royal family derived their distinctive cognomen of Bhadwal, in keeping with the custom of all ruling families/tribes in the hills, which took its 'al' of tribal name either from the name of their capitals or countries.

The state was situated in the long valley or Dansal Dun, which

1. Drew, F. : *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 96.
2. Forster, George : *A Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. 1, p. 292.
3. See *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 248.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 268,

was not a *plain* flat surface, but dotted by small hillocks and broken by slopes and draining streamlets. The population was scarce, and villages were small scattered hamlets and scattered houses. The cultivation was done in little nooks or on hillsides on terraced patches of ground, whose owners either cultivated them from the nearest village, or had made their solitary home closeby. Some of its spots like that of Dongara were very fertile and had small irrigation channels. A village in these parts was a collection of low huts, with flat tops, mud-walled, mud-floored and mud-roofed. The floor and walls were neatly smeared with a mixture of cowdung and straw. The roof were timbered either with wood of one of the acacias or with pine, which grew in abundance in these parts. Hills and uncultivated slopes were covered by scrubs.

This small state has a few old sites of historical and sectarian importance with which legends and anecdotes have been connected. About three kilometres to the east of Bhadu is a spot called Panjtirthi, where five streams of Ujh, Bhini, Tilahni, Naj and Khud form a junction which is considered sacred, and an annual fair is held on the *chait-chaudash* day. It is said that an account of the *tirathas* of this region was written under the title *The Ujh Mahatam* by a *pandit* from this place. There was another place of importance, called Kohg on the Bhadu-Basohli border where the rulers of Bhadu had built a fort to serve as frontier post. Close to this place is the temple of Narsingji, which is said to have been founded by a Megh weaver some three hundred years ago. Since then a *harijan* Megh family serves the temple as its priest from whose hands even the caste Hindus used to accept sacred water and *navaidya*. The Megh was a devotee of the Narsing incarnation of Vishnu, and he was falsely charged by a cloth shopkeeper with pilfering of cotton which he had given to the weaver for weaving cloth for him, which the latter had handed him over after weighing it to the required quantity. The Raja of Bhadu believed the word of the shopkeeper and ordered the Megh weaver to be thrown into a blind well (*durg*). The same night the Raja saw in a vision a man-lion who caught hold of him in his claws and asked him to release his devotee who was perfectly innocent. The terror-stricken Raja woke-up and ordered the Megh to be set at liberty forthwith. On the morning the Megh was dismissed honourably in a palanquin to his village Kohg. The Megh consecrated his weighing stones in a shrine and started worshipping. The later Bhadu rulers built a temple there which has since then become a place of pilgrimage.

Mahanpur,, some ten kilometres to the south-east of Bhadu, was an important and very old village in that state. It is said to

have been founded by Raja Man-shakya of Basohli some twelve hundred years ago. The locality does not show any very ancient foundations, but a few remains belonging to the later middle centuries were found there, one being the temple of Jagadamba, a partially rebuilt dressed stone masonry structure, possessing an inscription in Tankari characters and local dialect, which runs as follows :

“Sam. 1583 sam. Sri Devi da dahra Sri Gusai, Suraj Gir da chela Gusain Lal Gir Panchagni ka rae Raja Sri Rai Man Singh da batedha Kirpalu Chodhri Mal. Likhatam Shavula Jandheal.”⁵

Translation : “Samvat 1583 (A.D. 1526). The temple of Sri Devi (was built by) Kirpalu Chowdhri, superintendent of Stores of Raja Rai Man Singh. Gusain Lal Gir Panchagni, chela of Gusain Suraj Gir.”

On the jambs of the doorway and in some other portions of walls are a few slabs embedded in the masonry, which seem to have belonged to the original structure. On the door jambs are two figures of *dvarapalas* with spears pointed at both sides, having moustaches and wearing garlands. Above them are carved figures of Krishna playing the flute standing amidst his companions, one female, who are waving *chauris* over him ; peacocks, and swans ; Siva riding on his bull, four-faced Brahma; and Ganesa in the centre of the lintel of the doorway. On three sides of the temple are niches with two fluted columns each, containing figures of the goddess Kali, Hanuman and some human figures smoking hookah while others, standing, waving *chauri*⁶.

In addition to the old Jagadamba or Kali temple, there is another dedicated to Siva, situated on the *baoli* and is said to have been built by Maharaja Gulab Singh. The Maharaja built this temple and the *baoli*, and a *dharamsala* in the memory of his mother Mahadevi Bhadwal who was born in the nearby village of Mahrta. These remains in the former state of Bhadu show the trend of religious and sectarian views during the heyday of the rule of Bhadwal Rajas which consisted predominantly of Siva-sakti worship with arrival of devotion to Visnu in his incarnated form.

The source material for the history of Bhadu consists only of the *Vansavali*, which contains a string of names of the Rajas showing matrimonial alliances of each with a few additional notes and some documents and one inscription at Mahanpur referred to above. Some supplementary details are found in the

5. Kak, R.C., *Antiquities of Basohli and Ramnagar*.

6. *Ibid.* Pp. 6-7.

Vansavali of the royal family of Balor of which Bhadu royal family was an offshoot. These sources have been judiciously used by Thakur Kahan Singh Baloria, to which he has added more stray information, in writing a chapter on the Bhadu State in his vernacular work *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, vols. One. Not much new material was discovered by the authors of the *History of the Punjab Hill States*, except the 'Saumatikas' of the Chamba Copper Plates on which they have built up a few conjectures to be noted below. They have practically translated and adopted Thakur Kahan Singh Baloria's account, preceded by a note on Sumarta and Sumbaria Rajput tribe. We also could find no fresh or additional information except that which has been given above. It will therefore be interesting to give below the remaining history of Bhadu in the words of the authors of *History of The Punjab Hill States* (Vol. II, pp. 629- to 637) to show their indebtedness to the Baloria historian. A few corrective or supplementary notes have been added wherever necessary.

According to the vernacular history it included only thirty-six villages⁷ at the time of its foundation, and being surrounded by more powerful States, few accessions of territory can have taken place in later years. It is not directly mentioned in the Muhammadan histories, but there can be little doubt that it was involved in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5 in the reign of Akbar⁸ when strong military expeditions were sent into the hills to quell the revolts. Among the States of the thirteen hill Chiefs who accompanied Zain Khan Koka to the Court with valuable presents in A.D. 1589, there is one name, Kot Bharta, which may probably be meant for Bhadu. Serious clerical errors are often found in Persian writing, and Bharta may quite well have been Bhadu in the original copy, or possibly the name is meant for Sambarta,⁹ which may then have been the capital of the State. The association of the name in such close relationship with Balor, Jasrota and other States seems to be conclusive that Bharta was in near proximity to them. The Raja of the time was not named Daulat, but the person referred

7. Th. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 248, gives the names of thirty-six villages as under: Dhamlarh, Adhat, Mahanpur, Chanehra, Naushehra, Salahri, Dhar, Parnala, Hotar, Sadrota, Danbra, Sabar, Patti, Ponda, Khalari Athun, Bhura, Juthana, Dharalta, Palan, Thialta, Haterh, Dharmkot, Dadwara, Dangara, Darang, Mandli, Rampur, Kohg, Lahri, Dhannu-Parol, Bhadori, Bharal, Bhatwal, Balota, and Godo-Falal.

8. Vide *Jour. of Pb. Hist. Soc.*, Volume, IV, No. 2, p. 86.

9. *Ibid*, p. 79.

to may have been only a State official, as the omission of the title "Rai" seems to imply ; indeed it is noticeable that this is only name in the list with which the title is not associated. Cunningham seems to have identified Bhadu with a hill district called Baddivasa referred to in the *Rajatarangini*,¹⁰ but this identification cannot be sustained as the district in question was evidently in Parnotsa or Punch.

It is probable that the original nucleus of Bhadu State was Sumata or Sumarta (map Sambarta), a tract to the west of Balor, and primarily a part of that State. This tract had been occupied some time earlier by Som-Pal, younger brother of Raja Man-Sakya, one of the early Rajas of Balor, who may have reigned in the latter part of the ninth century, and from him it is said to have been named Sumata¹¹ or Sumarta, but the name is more probably of tribal origin.

The people of Sumata were called Sumaria¹² and they are referred to under the name of Saumataka in two copper-plate deeds in Chamba of the middle of the eleventh century, but in connection with events that happened in the early part of the tenth century. Sumata was probably the original capital and name of Balor State . hence the tribal name Saumataka.

The Sumaria Rajputs were famous for their martial qualities and many of them are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Sambarta as the place is now called.

In later times Sumarta seems to have been a bone of contention between Bhadu. Mankot and Balor, and may often have changed hands ; at the time of the overthrow of Mankot State it was within that territory.

Bhadu, as already indicated, was an offshoot from Balor (Basohli), and included a small portion of territory to the south of that State, with the capital at Bhadu near the left bank of the Bhini stream, the same on which Balor is situated farther to the north. The Bhadu *Vansavali* states that at a very early period the progenitor of the line came from Mayapuri (Hardwar) and founded the kingdom of Kulu.

At a later date as the Bhadu *Vansavali* also tells us, probably about A.D 750, a eadet of the Kulu family, named Bhog-Pal, surrendered his kingdom to his younger brother, Som-Pal, and

10. Cunningham, sir A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 135 ; *Rajatarangini*, Bk. VI, p. 318.

11. Kahan Singh Balaria, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 50.

12. *Ibid*, Also *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 76.

found his way to the west of the Ravi, where he conquered Balor (Vallapura) and founded that State. The Kulu *Vansavali* is silent on the subject, but in it we find a Raja named Som Pal, who may have reigned about the time referred to but of this we cannot be certain. It seems most probable that the founder of Balor State really was a cadet of the Kulu family, though the Balor *Vansavali* makes him the head of the parent stem, which ruled Mayapuri¹³

From the Balauria branch there were three offshoots, Bhadu, Bhadrawah and Batal, the last named being probably the Vertula of the *Rajatarangini*, situated in the lower Chinab Valley. The tradition of a common origin from Mayapuri has been preserved in all these families.

The Balor State seems to have continued in its undivided form down to the reign of Trailokya Deva (c. A.D. 1028-41).

According to the *Vansavali*, Trailokya Deva was succeeded by his son, Kalas Pal, and he again by Tung or Tunga Pal.¹⁴ In the *Rajatarangini*, however, Kalas Pal is called "Kalasa, the son of Tukka, lord of Vallapura." We must assume that the *Rajatarangini* is correct, and that the names of Kalasa and Tukka have been reversed in copying the *Vansavali*, *Tukka* and *Tunga* probably refer to the same person,¹⁵ who was the elder son of Trailokya Deva, and succeeded to the *gaddi*. There was also a younger son of Trailokya, named Tosh or Tokh Pal, to whom was assigned the district of Hatetar in *jagir* during his father's lifetime.¹⁶

With this, however, he was not satisfied, and soon after his father's death he laid claim to half the State and occupied some of the territory adjoining his *jagir*. On hearing of the outbreak, Tung Pal, who seems to have resided at Basohli, collected his force and advanced against his brother who was supported by the Sumaria Rajputs. After some fighting Tokh Pal was defeated and fled to Lahore, then in the hands of the Muhammadans.¹⁷

It is said that he made a vow not to shave his head or his beard, and to eat only one meal a day, and that with the left hand, till he had captured Balor. With a force obtained from the Nawab of Lahore, Tokh Pal then returned, and marching by way of the Bhini Nala by night, he surprised and captured Balor

13. Kahan Singh Balaria, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—49.

14. *Ibid.* pp. 51 and 247.

15. Here the assumption is incorrect. *Tukka* is a slang for Trailokya, and not a corruption of Tung or Tonga Pal.

16. Kahan Singh Balaria, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

17. *Ibid.*

after a short struggle. He then seated himself on the *chaugan* and had his beard and head trimmed. The Muhammadan troops then began to sack the town, and robbed the temple of Harihar Mahadev of the silver and gold vessels, and destroyed some figures. On seeing this Tokh Pal became alarmed for the consequences to himself, from the wrath of the god whose temple had thus been desecrated.¹⁸

Meantime news of the invasion reached Tung Pal and he came with an army : but was unable to withstand the forces opposed to him, and agreed to make peace. It was then arranged by the Muhammadan commander that one-third of the State should be made over to Tokh Pal, leaving the remainder in Tung Pal's hands. The Muhammadan force then retired.¹⁹

Tokh Pal however had a dream in which he was told that his kingdom would last only a short time, on account of the desecration of the Harihar temple. Being much alarmed he rose at once and went to Balor where he paid his devotions at the shrine of the god and besought forgiveness. After some nights spent in supplication he had a vision that the rule of his house would endure for twenty two generations only.²⁰

He then went to Basohli to beg his brother's forgiveness, and the two were fully reconciled. Tokh Pal founded the capital of the State on a small hill called *paharu*, and this word gradually became corrupted to Bhadu from which, as already stated, the clan name of Bhadwal is formed.²¹ With these data at our disposal it is easy to fix an approximate date for the foundation of the State with a near approach to certainty. From the Chamba inscriptions we know that Trailokya Deva, the father of Tunga or Tukka and of Tosh or Tokh Pal reigned between A.D. 1028 and 1041, and that his grandson, Kalas Pal the Kalasa of the *Rajatarangini* was in power about A.D. 1055, when Ananta Deva of Kashmir invaded the Balor State.²²

Tung or Tuk Pal must, therefore, have ruled between A.D. 1041 and 1055, and it was during his reign, say, A.D. 1045-50, that Bhadu State was founded.

From that time till the extinction of the State, about A.D. 1840, a period of nearly 800 years, there are said to have been only

18. *Ibid.* pp. 247-48.

19. *Ibid.* : p. 248.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Jour of Pb. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. IV, No-2, p. 82.

twenty-two Rajas, including the founder, in keeping with the announcement made by Harihar Mahadev to Tokh Pal, that only twenty-two Rajas would rule the State. This would give an average of nearly forty years to each reign, which is improbable. There were thirty-two Rajas in Balor in the same length of time, and we must, therefore, conclude that the *Vansavali* has been made to fulfil the prophecy. Tokh Pal was succeeded by Bikram Pal, but we have no records of his reign.

Bikram Pal had two sons, *Daulat Pal* and *Nardhan Pal*. The elder was of a religious disposition, and in his father's lifetime became a *brahmchari* and took up his abode in a *takya* or hut on a plain in Hatetar, where he engaged in devotional austerities. On his father's death he declined to accept his position as heir and gave the *rajtilak* or mark of investiture to his brother. *Daulat Pal* continued his austerities till his death, and is regarded as the Kul Dev or family deity of the Bhadwal Rajas.²³

Nardhan Pal, on becoming Raja, built a temple, a tank and a *dharmasala* near his brother's hut, and appointed *sadabrat* or free distribution of food. Nothing special appears to have occurred during this reign, and the two principalities of Balor and Bhadu seem to have existed side by side at peace with each other.²⁴

Gwar Pal succeeded on his father's death. He had three sons, of whom the eldest followed in the rule of the State, and the other two founded branches of the family which still exist.²⁵

Dharm Pal, the next Raja, like his predecessors, seems to have had an uneventful reign. We are probably to assume that Bhadu and Balor, being so closely related to each other by family ties, acted together in the wars of the time, especially with Chamba and other neighbouring States. The next Rajas were *Uttam Pal*, *Dakhan Pal*, *Anirudh Pal* and *Nikodar Pal*. The last had three sons, of whom the two younger founded collateral branches, one of these resides at Raipur in Basohli and the other at Sandhara in Chamba.²⁶

The succeeding Rajas were, *Karidhan Pal*, *Anant Pal* and *Jernan Pal*, of whom nothing is known.

Abhiman Pal the next ruler of the State, is said to have been a contemporary of Bhupat Pal of Basohli (C. A. D. 1598-1635).

23. Kanan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.* pp. 251-52.

which seems probable. The Balor *Vansavali* tells us that Bhupat Pal invaded Bhadu and Bhadrawah, both ruled by branches of his own family, and made them tributary²⁷ This relationship, however, was not maintained for long, and after a few years Bhadu regained independence.

Man Pal followed and was in turn succeeded by his son, *Chatar Pal*. The latter had two sons of whom the younger founded a branch of his family still residing in Basohli.

Udaya Pal, the next Raja, must have ruled about A.D. 1723, as there is a *patta* or title-deed of his extant on paper bearing the date Vik. 1780 A.D. 1723.²⁸ He was succeeded by *Furan Pal*, in whose reign Bhadu was annexed to Basohli by Jit Pal of that State.²⁹ This must have occurred after A.D. 1736, the year of Jit Pal's accession. It is probable, however, that the State was only made tributary, and it continued so during the following reign, under Hast Pal, who seems to have ruled only for a short time.³⁰

Prithvi Pal, c. A.D. 1756, was a contemporary of Amrit Pal of Basohli, and they were of the same age.

On his accession Amrit Pal freed Bhadu from tribute and treated Prithvi Pal with generosity.³¹ The Basohli *Vansavali* however, states that Bhadu was still under Basohli. It says, "Amrit Pal obtained Bhadu by the favour of Ranjit Dev" of Jammu, and this note is significant of the political position of both States at that period.

On the decline of Mughal power in the Panjab, the Jammu Chief, like the Katoch Raja of Kangra, was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to regain his freedom and consolidate his power at the expense of his neighbours. Till then Jammu was only a small principality, surrounded by many other states of much the same size, such as Chanehni, Bandralta and Jasrota. Under Dhrub Dev, who ruled from about 1703 to 1730, Jammu began to assert supremacy over the other states, and Ranjit Dev, his son, extended his power over the outer hills from the Chinab to the Ravi, making the other states more or less dependent and tributary. Even Kashtwar, far in the interior of the mountains, as well as Chamba to the east of the Ravi, was brought under his control. Before the middle of the century Basohli had become entirely dependent on Jammu; and the *Vansavali* states that Jit-Pal, father of

27. *Ibid.* p. 252.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.* p. 253.

31. *Ibid.* p. 254.

Amrit-Pal (A.D. 1736-57) "used to assist Drub-Dev" in his military expeditions. Bhadu must have shared in this dependent relationship, and we may assume that soon after A.D. 1750, on the accession of Ranjit Dev, the Jammu supremacy was fully established over both states. In 1774, Amrit Pal of Basohli, with the assistance of Jammu and probably Bhadu, invaded Chamba and seized two districts lying near the border, named Bhalai and Jundh, which had for many centuries been a bone of contention between the two states. On Ranjit Dev's death in 1781, the Chamba Chief seems to have appealed to his son and successor, Brajraj Dev, as lord paramount, for a restoration of the districts. By him a letter, still extant, was issued in 1781 for the surrender of the tracts, and on the refusal of the Basohli Raja to comply, Raj Singh of Chamba, in 1782, invaded and conquered Basohli and recovered the districts by force. The transfer was then confirmed by another letter from Brajraj Dev in 1783³².

Meanwhile the Raja of Basohli had called in the Sikhs to help repelling the invading force, and having fulfilled their mission they refused to depart, and Basohli and Bhadu thus came under their control. Mr. Forster who passed through Basoli in 1783 remarks: 'A bordering Chief (Chamba) had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants and burnt their villages, before any opposition was made. The Sieques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation and refused to relinquish it.'³³

From this time Bhadu like Basohli became subject to the Sikhs.

Mr. Forster was probably the first European who ever visited Bhadu or Buddoo as he calls it. The whole country from Basoli, where Forster crossed the Ravi, almost to Bhadu had been devastated in the recent invasion by Chamba, and at Basohli he was recommended to make a quick progress through the country, avoiding the track of the Sikhs, hence the detour by Bhadu instead of following the direct road to Sambarta.

He has some interesting remarks on the desolating results of the invasion. He says, "The journey of this evening (from Basohli), solitary and dreary, gave a wrong bent to every spring of the imagination which sullenly refused to receive one cheerful or pleasing idea. If such did begin to shoot forth, the prospect of a deserted village, a

32. *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, pp. 70, c. 25 and c. 31.

33. Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 270-72.

desolate country, immediately destroyed it and introduced in its stead those pregnant with the horrors of war. An obliging house-keeper in the village of Plassee accommodated me this evening more agreeably than I could have expected. His tenement was composed of materials that had resisted the late conflagration of the country, and he had with his family the quiet possession of it."³⁴

On the following day Forster reached Bhadu which he speaks of as "the residence of a petty Chief tributary to Jammu," confirming other evidence regarding this tributary relationship. Of Bhadu itself he unfortunately gives us no information, and he spent only one night in the place and the following day reached Mankot.

Later on in his narrative we find the following reference to the political relationship then existing between Jammu as suzerain and Bhadu and Chanehni; "Though the districts of Buddoo and Chinanee do not at this day form immediate appendages of Jumbo, they are so intimately dependent on its policy that, to avoid prolixity, I will throw their limits into one description. This united territory is bounded on the north by the river Chinam (Chinab) which divides it from Kishtwar : on the east by independent Hindu districts : on the south by Bissouly and on the west by the Punjab."

Prithvi Pal probably had a long reign, and was succeeded by his son, Jai Singh³⁵ who seems to have ruled till some time later than 1820. In his reign the state came completely under the control of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, probably about 1808-9, but the Raja continued to rule under the burden of a yearly tribute. He was however, the last Chief of Bhadu to exercise any real power.

Soon after 1820 all authority in the hills, between the Ravi and the Jhelum passed into the hands of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu and his two brothers. Dhian Singh and Raja Suchet Singh. They, too, were under Sikh supremacy, but their allegiance was purely nominal. Gulab Singh ruled in Jammu and extended his power over many of the surrounding states, especially toward the north ; Dhian Singh, from his principality of Punch, controlled the hill tracts between the Jhelum and the Chinab ; and Suchet Singh, to whom Bandralta (Ramnagar) had been granted in fief, brought under his sway all the states to the east, including Mankot (Ramkot) and Bhadu³⁶. The remaining states of Jasrota and Basoli were made over to Hira

34. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 270-71.

35. Kahan Singh Balaria, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

36. *Ibid.* p. 255.

Singh, eldest son of Raja Dhian Singh, to whom Ranjit Singh was dotingly attached, and who was made a Raja in 1828.

Vigne states that when he passed through the country in February, 1839. Basohli also was under Suchet Singh. This however, was probably a mistake, as the state had been conferred on Raja Hira Singh. and Suchet Singh's boundary was a few miles west of the town. He was probably unaware of the existence of Bhadu as a separate state.³⁷

In any case we may assume that from about 1835 Bhadu came entirely under the control of the Dogras. In 1844 both Suchet Singh and Hira Singh were killed. and their states were annexed to Jammu and came under the rule of Raja Gulab Singh.

On the conclusion of the first Sikh war in the spring of 1846, the hill tracts between the Ravi and the Indus were transferred by the Treaty of 16th March, 1846 to Raja Gulab Singh, and the dispossessed Chiefs were given the option of remaining in their territory and drawing the pension assigned them from Jammu or of removing into British territory.

Jai Singh had died some time previous to this and his son, *Avtar Singh*, elected to abandon the state, and took up his residence at Trilokpur near Kotla in Kangra District, where the family still reside³⁸ in receipt of a pension of Rs. 3,000³⁹ annually.

At Trilokpur the family continued to retain the title of Raja for a few generations. Raja Avtar Singh's eldest son, Raja Umed Singh enjoyed all the prerogatives conferred on his father in exile. Umed has five sons, the eldest, Raja Bajraj Singh, succeeded to the family's prerogatives, whereas the other four held respectable positions, since Raja Bajraj Singh died without a male issue, his brother Raja Bhunpal Singh became the head of the family. His son, Attar Singh, was probably the last member of the family to hold the title of Raja. Some members of the Trilokpur family held high civil and military ranks.

Two junior branches of the family reside near Sandhara and Chauari in Chamba District.

37. Vigne, G.T., *Travels*, Vol. 172.

38. Kahan Singh Baloria, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

39. Kahan Singh Baloria gives the amount at Rs. 5,000. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab*, p. 255.

Section 4

Lohara-Pruntsa (Punch) State and Its Offshoots

- I. LOHARA-PRUNTS (PUNCH) STATE**
- II. RAJAPURI (RAJAURI) STATE**
- III. BHIMBAR STATE**
- IV. KHARI-KHARIALI STATE**



Plate No. 1

Kaladehra stone temple, Babaur (11th—12th century)



Plate No. 2
Carvings from Babaur



Plate No. 3
A Carved Niche, Kalā-Dehra, Babaor



Plate No. 4

Carvings on Hari-Hara Temple, Balaor

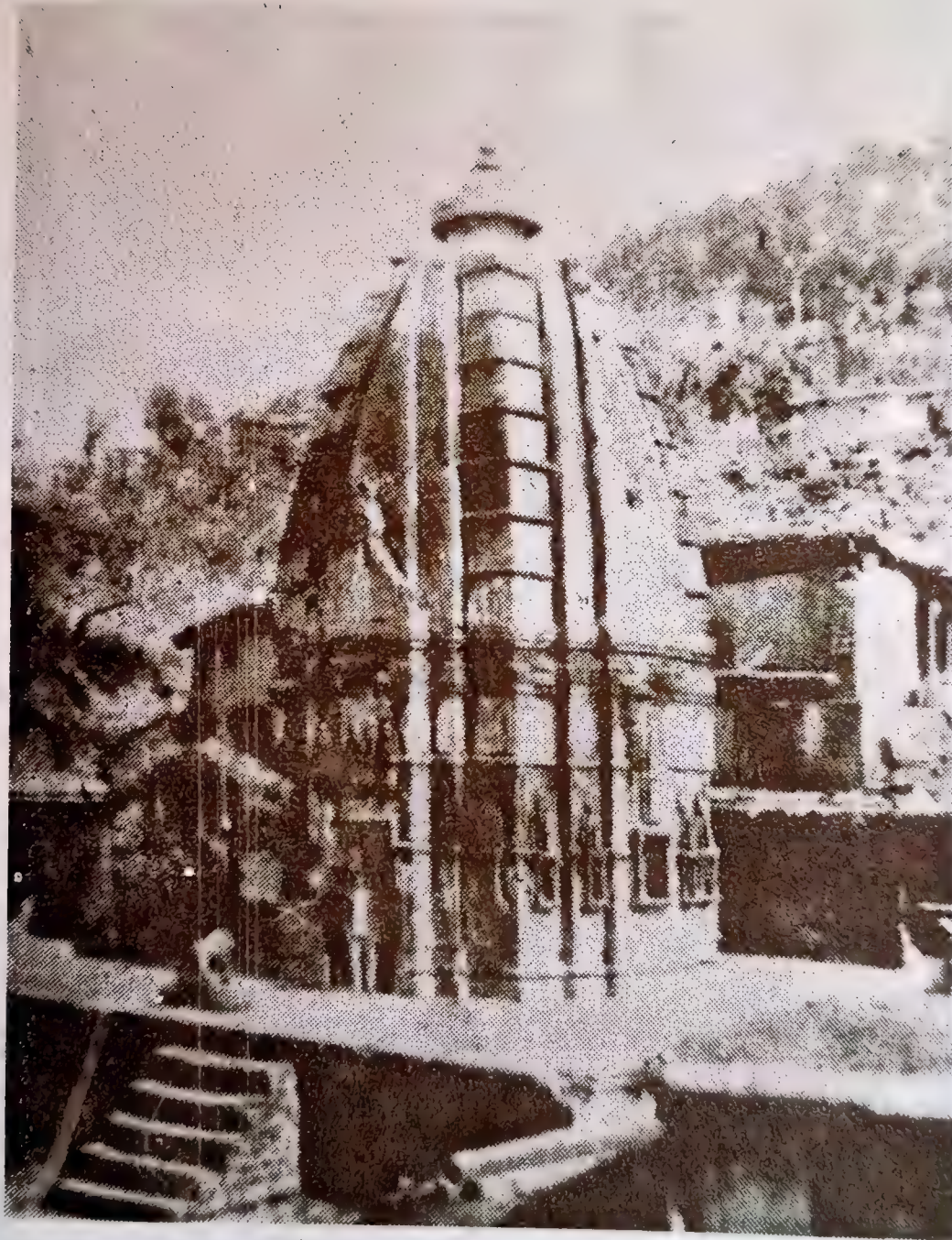


Plate No. 5
Hari-Hara Temple at Balaor



Plate No. 6
Ancient Temples at Krimchi



Plate No. 7
Jasrota Palace in ruins

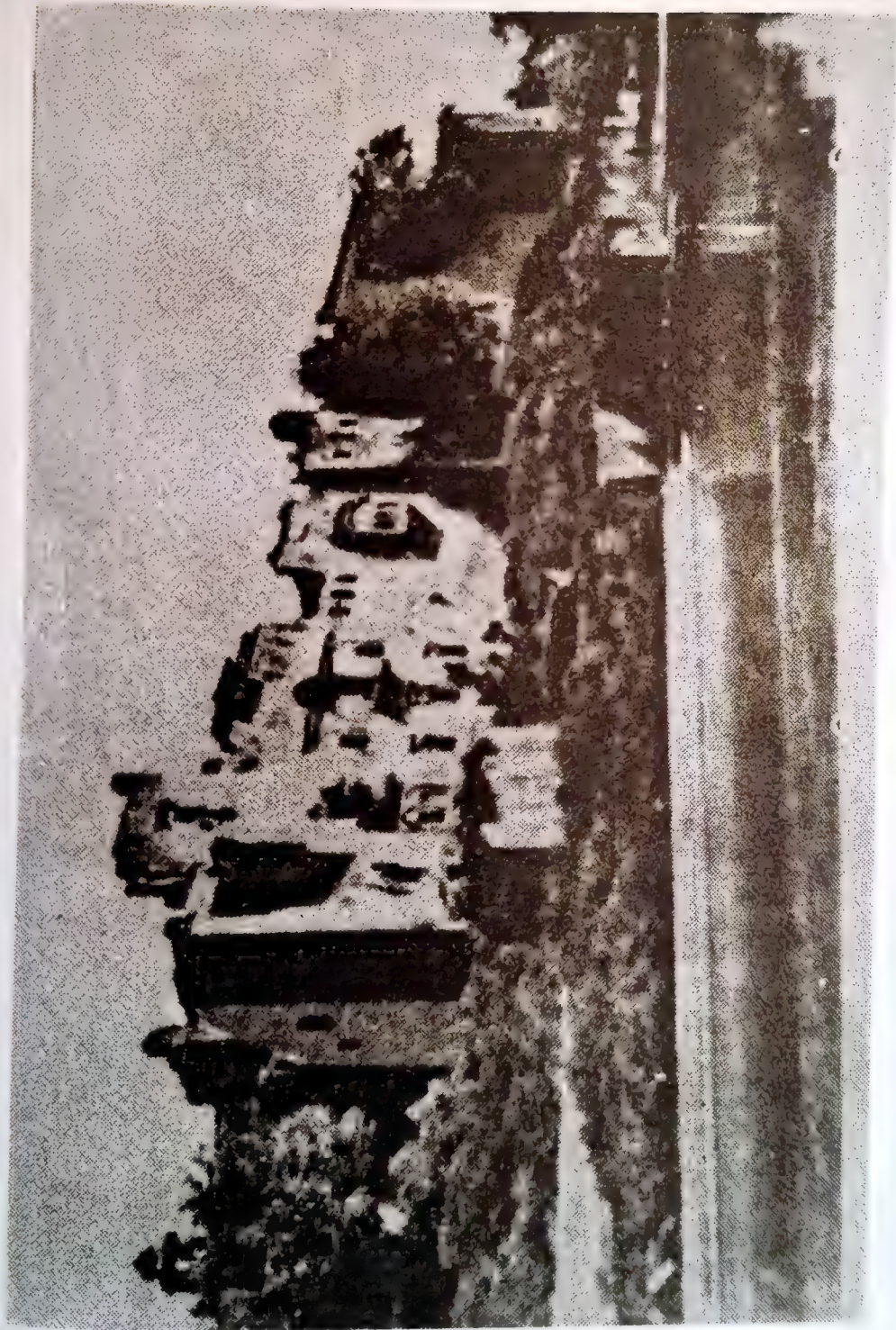


Plate No. 8

Ruins of Basohli Palace : South side



Plate No. 9

Ruins of Basohli Palace (North view)



Plate No. 10

Thein Fort in ruins



Plate No. 11
Raja Dhirajpal of Basohli



Plate No. 22

Raja Medini Pal (c. 1703—c. 1736) of Basohli. Basohli, c. 1725—30.



Plate No. 13

Raja Chatter Singh of Mankot with musicians. Bhoti, c. 1780.



Plate No. 14

Raja Kailashpat Dev Of Bandralta, Smoking, Bandralta c. 1750.

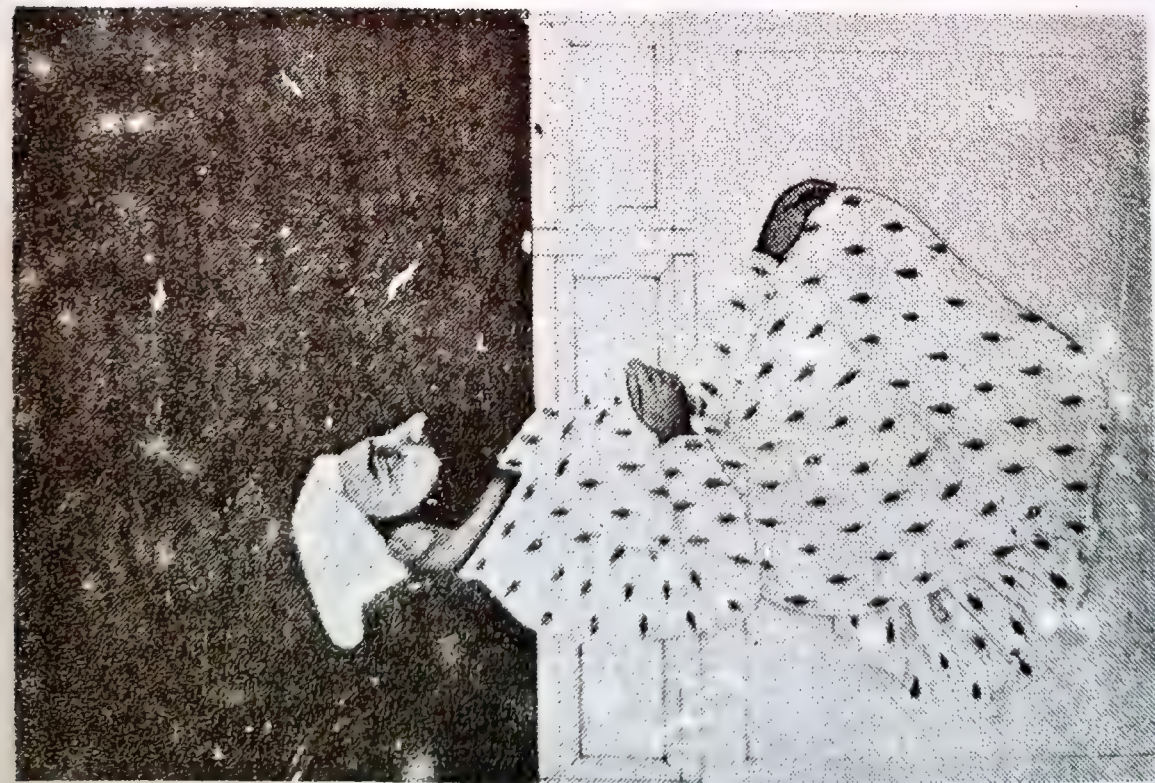


Plate No: 16

Mian Kailasvati Bandral, Jammu c. 1760.

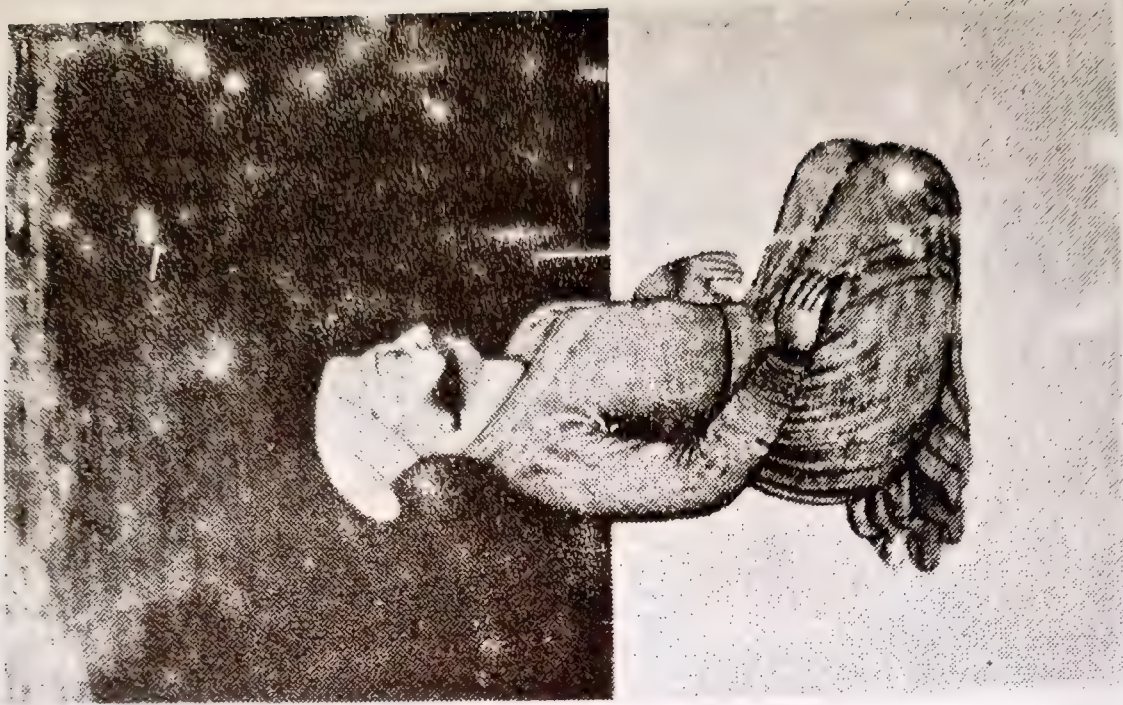


Plate No. 15

Mian Tedhi Mighalau Bhotia, Jammu, c. 1760.



Plate No. 17

*Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu. Listening to his singing girls
and musicians. Jammu, c. 1749.*



Plate No. 18
A Bandralta Prince

Parnotsa (Punch) State

Punch or Parnotsa State, written and known in different variants of the latter name, was an ancient Kingdom which had come into being much before the visit of the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang, who passed through it in 633 A.D. At that time it was situated in the valleys of the Punch Tohi and its tributaries. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panjal Range, on the east by Rajapuri, on the south by the Punjab plains probably, and on the west by the Jehlam river.¹ When in middle ages it had lost some of its territory and as a *jagir* after 1846, it was still bounded on the north by the high mountain chain, an offshoot of the Pir Panjal range, which divides it from the Kukha country Uri, Chikar, and Danna; on the east by the Pir Panjal range; on the south by the *parganas* of Rajauri, Jhupal, and Kotli, under Jammu; on the west by the river Jhelum.² The principal line of the Bhimbar and Rajauri route from the Punjab to Kashmir passed through the south-east corner of Punch.

1. Stein, M.A. : *Kalhanas Rajatarangini*, a chronicle of the king of Kashmir 2 Vols., 1900, reprint Delhi 1961, Bk. iv 184 n, Vo. II, p. 432; Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States* Vol. II p. 698.
2. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak*. Calcutta, 1890 p. 672.

In its general aspect the State was throughout very mountainous the ranges to the north and east being of considerable elevation. The valley of the Punch Toi (Tohi) or Palasta river, in which was situated the capital, was of considerable extent with an average width of about one mile; it was enclosed by low and beautifully wooded hills, and produced abundant crops of rice. The climate of the lower valleys was some what humid and is said at times to be malarious; that of the upper slopes and mountains was cool and healthy.³

The original name of the country was Parnotsa, which is pronounced variously in its abbreviated form. Alexander Cunningham uses Punacha or Punach. By the Kashmiris it is called Punats. Hiuen Tsiang spelt this name as 'Pun-nu-tso'. Moorcroft spelt it Prunch or Pruntz; whereas General Court also has Prunch, but it is called Punja by Mirza Mogal Beg, and Punch by Vigne⁴, the latter form being in common use among the people now.

Punch, the principal town of the State during the middle ages, was situated on sloping ground towards the northern side of a long open valley; it spread above the right bank of the Punch Toi, in the angle formed by the junction of the Bitarh, about a mile distant from either rivers. Both the Bitarh and Punch Toi were unbridged. The former was fordable throughout the year, except when in flood; the latter during the winter months only; for the remaining part of the year a ferry boat plied. Punch was situated about halfway between Bhimbar and Srinagar, on the high-road by the Suran valley and Haji Pir Pass, being distant about eighty six miles from the latter place; by the direct routes to Srinagar Crossing the Firozpur or Tosha Maidan passes it was considerably less. The general lay of the town was oblong, its greatest length being from east to west. It was not a fortified town, nor defended by a ditch. The streets were narrow, that in the middle of the town, which was the principal thorough fare, being lined with shops on either side. In the middle of the nineteenth century the town had over 700 houses, which were generally single storeyed with flat mud roofs. On the open space east of the town there was a *darbar* hall, a substantial brick building. It stood on the southern side of the road; to the north was another large edifice, the magazine, containing ammunition and military stores. There was also a sarai. To the east of these establishments were the sepoy lines. The prison which was near the cantonment, accommodated about 200 prisoners. There

3. *Ibid*, p. 672.

4. Stein, M. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 433.

was a government garden in the lower portion of the town, and near it two *madrasas* or colleges for Hindus. There was also one for Musalmans. There were two *masjids* and two *ziarats*, viz, that of Sayyad Gafur and the *Ali-pir-ki-takia*.

B. HISTORY : ANCIENT :

We have very scanty and fragmentary information on the history of the State for the ancient early middle ages. The original name of the State was Parnotsa and its early capital was at Lohara the present Lohrin to the north-east of the town of Punch. Like Rajapuri, the State was situated within the hill tract called Darvabhisara, lying between the Jehlam and the Chenab, and was probably the first principality to be founded in the tract.

The earliest reference to the State is to be found in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, A. D. 633,⁵ who, on his journey from Kashmir to the plains of India, passed through Parnotsa and Rajapuri and on to Sakala (Sialkot), probably by Akhnur. over road still in use. At that period Parnotsa seems to have been the name by which the whole tract was known, and it was then subject to Kashmir and had no king of its own. He calls it Pu-nu-tso, and placed it at 700 li, or 117 miles, to the south-west of Kashmir. He probably left the Kashmir Valley by Tosamaidan Pass or a pass near it. This journey took him. "South-west and crossing some mountain and traversing many precipices, Going 700 li or so, we come to the country Pun-nu-tro (Punch)". He describes Parnotsa as follows. "This kingdom is about 2,000 li in circuit with many mountains and river courses, so that the arable land is very contracted. The seed is sown however, at regular intervals and there are a quantity of flowers and fruits. There are many sugarcanes but no grapes. Amalas, Udumbaras, Mochas, etc., flourish and are sown in large quantities, like woods; They are prized on account of their taste. The climate is warm and damp. The people are brave. They wear ordinarily cotton clothing. Their disposition is true and upright; they are Buddhists. There are five Sangharams, mostly deserted. There is no independent ruler, the country being tributary to Kashmir. To the north of the chief town is a Sangharama with a few priests. Here there is a stupa which is celebrated for its miracles. Going south-east from this 400 li or so, we come to the Kingdom of Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rajapuri)."

Hiuen Tsiang describes Punch as 2000 li or 333 miles in circuit,

5. Beal, Samuel. *Si-yu-ki : Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1881-82, Vol. I, p. 163,

which is just about twice its actual size, being circumscribed, as pointed out above, by the Jehlam on the west, by Pir Panchal Range on the north and by the small State of Rajauri on the east and south east. But, as pointed out by A. Cunningham "these limits which include the petty State of Kotli are not more than 170 miles in circuit and even is the tract at the source of the Punch river be included the frontier will not be more than 200 miles in circuit. But as the distances in the Mountain district were most probably estimated by the lengths of the roads, the circuit if the frontier line may be taken as equivalent to about 300 miles in road distance."⁶ The traveller may have over-estimated the mountain distance, and this is also probable that at that early period the districts of Parnotsa included Kotli and extended down to the plains, which was in the later times conquered by the Chibhs, who founded the States of Bhimbar and Khari-Khariaali. From them the whole tract acquired the name Chibhan Since at least the days of Mughal rule in India. In ancient times this tract, along with that of Rajapuri and adjoining territories, was inhabited by the great Khasha tribe, which held the outer hills from the river Jehlam to the Banihal Pass, and farther east to Kishtwar and Bhadarwah. The descendants of these tribes at the present day are probably the Khakhas of the lower Jehlam Valley and the outer hills. The Khashes are often referred to in the *Rajataragini* and the Rajas of Rajauri and Lohara were called "Lords of the Khashas".

Parnotsa continued tributary to Kashmir for long after Hiuen Tsiang and the *Rajatarangini* refers to the State for the first time as a feudatory of the Kashmiri king Lalitaditya Muktapida (A. D. 669), who is said to have founded Parnotsa, "who, when receiving fruit (*phala*) constructed Phalapura when taking a leaf (*parna*) Parnotsa and while at play (*kridan*) the *vihara* of (*Kridarana*)",⁷

However, the reference in Hiuen Tsiang's Travels belies Lalitaditya's claim for foundation of Parnotsa as it was older than his reign, though still subject to Kashmir. But while Parnotsa seems to have been the name of the tract and the principal place in early times it was not the original capital of the State. The *Rajatarangini* frequently refers to a hill tract called Lohara, the first of these being in the reign of Lalitaditya about A. D. 700⁸ Wilson was probably the first modern writer to refer to the locality which

6. Cunningham, Alexander : *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, p. 128 f.

7. Stein, M. A., *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., iv. 184.

8. Stein, M. A. : *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., iv. 177.

he erroneously identified with Lahore.⁹ Kalhana however, refers frequently to Lohara as a hill tract containing a fortress in close proximity to Kashmir. It was in A. D. 1892 that Sir A. Stein undertook an extensive tour of the tract and found a tract named Loharan (Loran on the maps) which answers fully to the description of the ancient Lohara.¹⁰ Sir A. Stein adds an interesting note on the tract in the *Rajatarangini*, an extract from which is given below :—

Lohara State :

The name of the tract or country and the name of the State were different at this stage. The name of the country was probably Parnotsa, whereas the name of the State referred to in the *Rajatarangini* was Lohara from its foundation till the reign of Muhammad Shah of Kashmir (A.D. 1530) and probably down to the times of Akbar's conquest of Kashmir in A.D. 1586.

The strong fortress of Loharakotta or Lohkot, which was the original capital of the State and the place of the residence of the Rajas, was situated on the ridge near the centre of the Loharin valley. This fort is referred to by Alberuni¹¹ (A.D. 1017-31) and other Muhammadan historians as well as in the *Rajatarangini* and twice successfully with stood seige by Mahmud of Ghazni. It was therefore built much before his invasion of India. The Lohara State seems to have been founded about A.D. 830 by Nara¹² who was probably a local petty chief of the khasha tribe. He is first mentioned in the reign of Utpalapida of Kashmir (A.D. 850-55) as under : "Nara and other merchants who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages, ruled Darvabhisara and the neighbouring regions setting up their own thrones."¹³ This sentence as a whole conveys the impression that Nara and others like him were petty chiefs like the Ranas and Thakurs of the eastern hills, each ruling over a small area and all under the supremacy of Kashmir. Nara may have been one of the most powerful among these petty rulers for he succeeded in extending his authority over some of his neighbours and thus founded the Lohara State.¹⁴

A passage in the *Rajatarangini* which incidently refers to the geneaology of the Lohara rulers in succession to Nara for about

9. Wilson, W. W. *Hindu History of Kashmir*, reprint Delhi, p. 47.

10. An account of this identification was given by Sir A. Stein in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society. in 1893.

11. Sachau : *Alberuni's India*.

12. Stein, M.A. : *Rajatanangini*, *op. cit.*, iv. 712.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *H.P.H.S.*, vol. II, p. 701.

300 years, calls him "the king of Darvabhisara." This may be mere hyperbole, but it is probable that he had acquired a certain amount of supremacy over a large portion of territory, and was acknowledged as suzerain. The passage runs as under :

"Long ago there lived a king of Darvabhisara, Nara, a descendant of Bhardwaja, his son was Naravahana, who begot Phulla. The latter begot Satyavahana, from him sprung Chanda, his son was Chanda-Raja, who also had two sons called Gopala and Simharaja. Simharaja who had many sons, gave his daughter Didda, to King Kshemagupta in marriage. She being left without a husband or male children, placed Samgramaraja, the son of her brother Udayaraja, on the throne of Kashmir. Another brother of hers Kantiraja, begot Jassaraja ; Samgramaraja was the father of Ananta ; Jassaraja that of Tuvanga and Gunga. From Ananta was born king Kalasa and from Gunga was born (Malla). From Kalasa was born Harshdeva and the rest then—from Malla. Then when this is the pedigree how can foolish persons ask ; is this one (of the princes of Kashmir) ?"¹⁵

This passage is in the form of utterance by a Lohara prince Uchchala in the presence of Raja Somapala of Rajapuri, a contemporary of Raja Harshdeva (A.D. 1089-1101) of Kashmir. It is evident from this pedigree that Nara was the ancestor of the Lohara ruling family and the founder of the State. Lohara was thus an older State than Rajapuri and may have included some of the territory afterwards merged in that State.

Nara might have ruled the State till about A.D. 870 and was succeeded by his son Naravahana, who ruled till about 890 A.D. He was a contemporary of King 'Sankravarmana of Kashmir (A.D. 883—902) who is said to have marched through his territory on an expedition against Gurjara (Gujarat in the Punjab). Naravahana seems to have avoided conflict with the superior king and kept at a safe distance and we read that the shouts of the Kashmir army "were heard, not by the troops of the Lord of Darva-bhisara, but by the mountain gorges in which that frightened ruler had taken refuge."¹⁶ At a later time, perhaps, on the return march from the plains, Naravahana fell into his hands and was murdered at night together with his followers, on a suspicion of treachery, though, as Kalhana States, he cherished no evil intent against the King of Kashmir.¹⁷

15. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, *op. cit.*, vii. 1282-87.

16. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, *op. cit.*, vii.

17. *H.P.H.S.* vol. II, p. 702.

Naravahana was succeeded by his son Phulla, after whom came Satavahana, Chanda and Chandaraja, about whom we know nothing except their names. The next ruler was Simharaja who succeeded to the throne about A.D. 950. He was a celebrated ruler and had as one of his queens the daughter of Bhim Shahi, the ruler of Udabhandu (Ohind), and their daughter Didda was married to Kshemagupta of Kashmir about A. D. 950. Thus the Lohara house was related to the two powerful ruling houses of the north-western regions and it played important role in politics of the period. On Kshemagupta's death in A.D. 958, his minor son Abhimanyu II, succeeded him under the regency of queen Didda. After disposing of her son and grandsons Didda usurped all powers and ruled in her own name from A.D. 980. Towards the end of her life, she adopted as her successor, Samgramaraja, a younger son of her brother Udayaraja, who followed his father Simharaja as ruler of Lohara. Queen Didda died in A.D. 1003. Udayaraja, the ruler of Lohara, died in about A.D. 1000 and was succeeded by his eldest son Vigraharaja, who in Didda's life-time made an attempt to secure the throne of Kashmir, probably regarding himself of having superior claim than his younger brother. But being defeated he came back to Lohara. A branch of the Lohara dynasty, however, had been established on the throne of Kashmir.

Mahmud's Campaigns in Punch :

Soon after, their relatives at Udabhandu were in trouble and the Loharas were involved on their side. The Hindu Shahi dynasty of kings then ruled the Punjab. They had supplanted the Turki Shahi dynasty of Kabul about A.D. 870, and soon afterwards, probably about A.D. 880-90, they were compelled, by the increasing pressure of Muslim advance from the west, to shift the seat of Government to Udabhandu or Ohind on the Indus. However, Kabul and a large part of Afghanistan was still under them and ruled over through a governor. The Shahis had therefore to carry on a long struggle against the rising Muslim power at Ghazni. This struggle started with Jaipal Shahi of Ohind¹⁸ ; who succeeded his father Bhim Pal in A. D. 962. Soon after his accession Ohind seems to have become unsafe as capital which was then transferred to Lahore. However, he maintained a strong control over trans-Indus territories and Jaipal's struggles with the Musalmans were to the west of the Indus. In these he finally met with defeat. His last encounter was with Mahmud of Ghazna in 1002, on the plains

18. *Tarikh-i-yamini*, Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 25 ff, and Appendix p. 438.

of Peshawar, where he was taken prisoner with many of his officers. He then burnt himself on a pyre according to the tradition of his clan and was succeeded by his son Anand Pal Shahi. During his reign, Lohara and Kashmir seem to have been brought into close relations with the Shahi kingdom. When in A. D. 1005, Mahmud once again advanced towards India and Anand Pal opposed him on the Peshawar plain, contingents from all parts of northern India came in his support and among others we may safely include Lohara and Kashmir. These countries were respectively under the rule of Vigrharaja and his brother Samgramaraja. Anandapala was defeated and he fled with his armies, pursued by Mahmud, into the outer hills most probably up the valley of the Punch Tohi, towards Lohara. His army, fleeing south, was pursued as far as Sodhra on the Chenab, which was then the ferry on the main line of road to Lahore.

In A. D. 1009 Anandapala again opposed Mahmud on the Indus and was defeated and his army completely routed. He probably escaped into the outer hills towards Lohara while Mahmud marched for Nagar kot-Kangra. By now the country west of Indus seems to have been fully occupied by the Muslims. When Mahmud crossed the Indus in 1013 A. D., Anandapala was dead and had been succeeded by his son Trilochanapala who continued his unequal struggle against the invader. Being easily defeated he seems to have retreated into the hills up the valley of the Punch Tohi, pursued by Mahmud. A strong contingent from Kashmir under Tunga, the commander-in-chief, had arrived across the Pir Panjal to help him and descended the Tohi valley, probably to a point not far from Jehlam where the army of Trilochanpal was encamped. A contingent from Lohara might possibly formed a part of the Shahi force. The battle was soon fought after Tunga's arrival, probably at a place near the junction of the Tohi with the Jehlam and it crushed the Shahi power for ever. The account of the battle given in the *Rajatarangini*¹⁹ is as under :

It is clear from the context that the battle was fought in the Tousi or Tohi valley, and probably towards the lower part, not far from Jehlam. It was probably the last occasion on which Trilochanapala made a stand against him in the Punjab. Mahmud's expedition of A. D. 1013 is fully described in *Tarikh-i-yamini*, and agrees in several details to that of *Rajatarangini*. Utbi's description runs as follows :—

“He (Mahmud) marched with a large army in the year A. D.

19. *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, vii, vs. 47-69.

404 (A. D. 1013) during the dark night at the close of autumn on account of the purity of the southern breezes at that season—— When the Sultan had arrived near the frontier of Hind snow fell such as had never been seen before, in so much that the passes of the hills were closed and mountains and valleys became of one level. The feet of the horses and camels were affected by the cold, so it may be conceived what the faces, hands and feet of men suffered. The well-known roads were concealed, and the right could not be distinguished from the left, or what was behind from that which was before, and they were unable to return till God should give the order. The Sultan employed himself in the meantime in collecting supplies, and sent for his guards from the different provinces. After having thus accumulated the means of warfare, and having been joined by his soldiers, who had come from different directions, in number equal to the drops of an autumnal rain, he left these winter quarters in the Spring; and had the earth been endowed with feeling it would have groaned under the weight of the iron, the warriors, the horses and the beasts of burden. The guides marched on in front over hill and dale, before the sun arose and even before the light of the stars was extinguished. He urged on his horses for two months, among broad and deep rivers, and among jungles in which wild cattle even might lose their way.”

“When the Sultan arrived near the end of his destination he set his cavalry in array, and formed them into different bodies, appointing his brother, Amir Nasar, son of Nasir-ud-Din, to command the right wing, consisting of valiant heroes; Arslan-ul-Jazib to the left wing, consisting of powerful young men; and Abu Abdulla Muhammad bin Ibrahim-ul-Tai to the advance guard, consisting of fiery Arab cavaliers; to the centre he appointed Altuntash, the Chamberlain, with the Sultan’s personal slaves and attendants, as firm as mountains.”

“Nidar Bhim, the enemy of God and the Chief of Hind, alarmed at this sudden invasion, summoned his vassals and generals and took refuge within a pass, which was narrow, precipitous and inaccessible. They entrenched themselves behind stones, and closed the entrance to the pass by their elephants, which looked like so many hills from their lofty stature. Here he remained in great security, being persuaded that the place was impervious to attack, but he did not know that God is the protector of the faithful, and the annihilator of infidels.”

“When the Sultan learnt the intention of Nidar Bhim with respect to the protraction of the war, and his confidence in his security, he advanced against them with his Dailamite warriors and

Satanic Afghan spearmen, and they penetrated the pass like gimlets into wood, ascending the hills like mountain goats and descending, thence like torrents of water. The action lasted for several days without intermission, till at last some of the Hindus were drawn out into the plain to fight, like oil sucked up into the wick of a lamp, or like iron attracted by a magnet, and there they were assaulted and killed by the cavalry, just as the knight on the chess board demolishes pawns."

"When his vassals had joined Nidar Bhim, with reinforcements, he consented to leave his entrenchments and come out himself into the plain, having the hills behind him and elephants drawn upon each wing. The battle raged furiously, and when the elephants of the Hindu moved on with the object of destroying their opponents, they were assailed by showers of arrows upon their trunks and eyes."

"The conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends, and the enemy were slain on the tops of the hills and in the valleys, to vines and beds of torrents. A large number of elephants which the enemy had looked upon as strongholds to protect them, fell into the hands of the victors,, as well as much other booty. So God granted the Sultan the victory of Nardin, such as added to the decoration of the mantle of Islam, which had not before that period extended to the place."

"The Sultan returned marching in the rear of this immense booty, and slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap, and men of respectability in their native land were degraded by becoming the slaves of common shopkeepers. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honours on his own religion and degrades infidelity.²⁰

Ferishta²¹ also has a reference to this campaign, as a direct invasion on Kashmir and Mahmud's penetration into that country:" In the year 404 H. Mahmud marched his army against the fort of Ninduna situated on the mountains of Balnath, then in the possession of the Raja of Lahore, Anandpal had lately died, and his son, Jaipal the Second (Trilochanapal), had succeeded to the government. When the grandson of Jaipal (Trilochanapal) saw that he could not oppose the king in the field, he drew off his army towards Kashmir, leaving troops for the defence of his capital.

20. *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of al-Utbi, Elliot's *History of India* Vol. II, pp. 32-34.

21. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Eng. tr. by Briggs, 1910, Vol. I, p. 54; and Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 448-49.

Mahmud immediately invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. The king having granted to the besieged their lives, took everything of value out of the place, and, appointing a new governor, moved without delay towards Kashmir, on which the Raja of Lahore, abandoning that province, fled to the hills. Mahmud plundered Kashmir and having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet, returned with rich spoils to his capital."

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* also makes a cryptic reference to the campaign in the following words :—

Tabaqat-i-Akbri mentions this invasion, on Kashmir but states that Mahmud proceeded upto the pass and did not seem to have entered the valley: "In A.H. 404 the Sultan marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated on the mountains of Balnath. Pur Jaipal²² left veteran troops for its protection while he himself passed into one of the mountain valleys of Kashmir. The Sultan having reached Ninduna invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating, Sultan Mahmud with a few of his personal attendants entered it and took all the property he found there. Having left Sarogh as governor of the fort, he himself proceeded to the Kashmir Valley, where Pur Jaipal had taken up his position. The Chief, however, did not await his arrival but fled, and when the Sultan reached the pass he obtained great spoil and a large number of slaves. He also converted many infidels to Muhammadanism, and having spread Islam in that country returned to Ghazni."²³

Nardin, where the battle was fought, seems to have been in the vicinity of Jhelam, as also the fort of Ninduna, but the true reading of these names have been lost and cannot be restored. The latter place is said to have been on "the mountain of Balnath," overhanging the Jehlam and now generally called Tille, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Balnath.²⁴

It has been suggested by one writer that the action, which preceded the capture of Ninduna, was fought at the Margala Pass, some distance on the Attock side of Rawalpindi, which is said to

22. Note :—Trilochanapala's name as found in the *Rajatarangini* goes through various forms in the Muhammdan authors. Some of these are—Tandan Jaipal, Nanduws Jaipal, Turu Jaipal, Puru Jaipal, Nardajanpala, Niranjapala, Tesdar Jaipal and many more. (Elliot, Volume II, page 427).

23. *Tabaqat i Akbari*, Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 451.

24. HPHS., p. 709.

answer well to the description given of it by 'Utbi in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*. 'Utbi, who was Mahmud's secretary, did not himself accompany the army into India, and this may account for a certain want of preciseness in his description of the campaign. In any case it seems improbable that Mahmud would be allowed to advance as far as the Jehlam without being opposed, and it is worth noting that Nidar Bhim—the dauntless—that is, Bhimpal, son of Trilochanapal—was in command in the battle which preceded the capture of Ninduna. While, therefore there are many points of similarity in the two descriptions, the doubt remains as to whether they refer to the same battle, or to two different actions in the same or a succeeding campaign. In either case we may safely assume that the Shahi army retreated from Ninduna up the valley of the Punch Tohi pursued, by Mahmud. Down to the present time a road from the north called the "royal road," crosses the Jehlam near the town and a branch runs up its left bank and up the left bank of the Tohi, over an open plain, to Punch. It was doubtless the main line of advance to Kashmir in former times.²⁵

Mahmud is said to have pursued the shahi army into Kashmir. But it is obvious that here the Kashmir Kingdom is intended which at that time included whole of Darvabhisara, and not the Kashmir Valley into which he could not penetrate despite his best efforts. On both occasions he failed to cross the Pir Panjal and could advance only as far as Lohara.

The battle on the banks of the Tohi, described by Kalhana, was the last of the series fought by the Shahi during their long and brave struggle to stem the tide of invasion and save their country, but in vain, and with the loss of their kingdom their very name perished from the earth. Trilochanapal continued to oppose Mahmud, and was killed in A. D. 1021, and his son, Bhimpal, who succeeded him, is no longer referred to as an independent ruler by the Muhammadan historians. He was the last of his line and was killed in A. D. 1026²⁶ After such a severe engagement and with heavy losses Mahmud's army must have been exhausted and he could not prosecute campaign against the valley even if he had desired to do so as Utbi writes.

Tunga, who had brought disaster on the Shahi army by his impetuosity and rashness,²⁸ was assassinated along with his son, while retreating towards the Valley, by Sangramaraja, at the

25. *Ibid*, p. 710.

26. Sachau, *Alberuni's Indica*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 13.

28. Stein, M. A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangani*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. pp. 73—74 ff.

instigation of Vighraharaja of Lohara, who had a grudge against him.

Mahmud did not forget Kashmir and Lohara Kota, the latter being so close to the northern fringe of his Indian conquests.

In A. D. 1015, he again invaded the Panjab for the purpose of conquering Kashmir. On his previous expedition some of the local hill Chiefs had given in their submission, but revolted on his retirement, and Ferishta states that he came to punish them, and besiege some forts which he had not reduced on his first expedition into the hills. The first and most important of these was Lohkot, that is, Loharakotta, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated Mahmud's utmost efforts. Not being able to reduce it in the summer season, he was obliged on the approach of winter to abandon the siege and return to Ghazni.

There is no allusion to this expedition in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, the *Rausatu-s-Safa* or the *Habibu-s-Siyar*, but it is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *Tabaqat-i-Ahbari* and Ferishta.

Ferishta's account of the campaign is as follows :²⁹ "Mahmud in the year 406 H. (A. D. 1015), again marched with the design of entering Kashmir, and besieged the fort of Lohkot, which was remarkable on account of its height and strength. After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmir, the Sultan was obliged to abandon his design and return to Ghazni. On his route having lost his way he came upon a place where the whole plain was covered with water—wherever they went they saw nothing but water. Many of the troops perished. This was the first disaster that the Sultan suffered in his campaigns against India. After some days he extricated himself with great difficulty from his peril and reached Ghazni without having achieved any success."

From the absence of any allusion to this expedition in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, the inference has been drawn that it did not take place, and that the account in Ferishta and other writers really refers to a later expedition in A. D. 1021. Such an inference seems quite uncalled for. It seems more probable that 'Utbi, being a contemporary writer and holding the position he did, would be afraid to put on record any account of an expedition which was practically a failure. The waters from which Mahmud could not extricate his army were probably those of the Jehlam near the

29. Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 456.

junction of the Tohi river, or lower down near Jehlam.³⁰

In A. D. 1017, Mahmud again invaded the Panjab and was waited on by a prince from the outer hills near Kashmir, who sent him presents of all that was curious and valuable in his kingdom, and was directed to accompany the army, then proceeding to the conquest of Kanauj.³¹

Once more in A. H. 412³² (A. D. 1021), Mahmud ascended the valley of the Punch Tohi and laid siege to Loharakotta, called Lohkot in the record. The army lay before it for one month, but finding it altogether impregnable, on account of its strength and loftiness, he raised the siege and departed to Lahore. It would thus seem that Loharakotta was besieged twice and unsuccessfully by Mahmud.

This expedition is referred to both in Ferishta and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad. Ferishta's reference is very brief, and he does not give the year, but it may be inferred from the context that he alludes to A. H. 412-13 (A. D. 1021). The reference in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* is as follows: "In A. H. 412, the king advanced towards Kashmir and invested the stronghold of Lohkot. He stayed before it one month, but finding the fort, on account of its strength and loftiness, altogether impregnable, he decamped and proceeded towards Lahore and Bagar. He directed his followers to plunder the hill country and immense booty was collected. The Sultan returned in the commencement of spring to Ghazni."³³

Alberuni, who came to India about A. D. 1017 and remained till about A. D. 1031, is said to have accompanied this expedition. In his *Indica*³⁴ he mentions the high peak south of the capital, which he names "Kularjak" resembling by its cupola shape the mountain of Dumbavand (Damavand) and remarks: "The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Takeshar (Central Panjab) and Lauhavar (Lahore). The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two *farsakh*. The fortress of Rajagiri lies south of it, and the fortress of Lahur west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town of Rajawari (Rajapuri) is three *farsakh* distant from the peak. This is the farthest place to which our merchants trade and beyond which they never

30. *H. P. H. S.*, pp. 711—12.

31. Briggs: *Ferishta's History*, Eng. tr., 1908, Vol. I, p. 57.

32. *Ibid*, p. 65

33. Elliot & Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 466—67.

34. Sachau: *Alberuni's Indica* Eng. tr., Vol I, pp. 207—08.

pass". Alberuni certainly refers to Mount Tatakuti (15,524 feet), the heighest peak in the Pir Panjal Range, South of Kashmir. Rajagiri was a strong hill fortress south of the Pir Panjal Pass, within the Rajapuri State. La hur, mentioned by Alberuni, is no doubt Loharakotta.³⁵ A further confirmation to this-fact is found in another passage in the *Indica*, where Alberuni calls the fortress Lauhur. and specifically places it in latitude 34° 10', and states that "it is distant fifty-six (Arabian) miles from the capital of Kashmir, half the way being rugged country and the other half plain", which is very near the actual distance of Sixty English miles by the Tosi-Maidan Pass³⁶

Lohara-Kashmir Relations : 1020 A. D. to 1470 A. D.

VIGRAHARAJA

During the period of Mahmud's Indian invasions Vighraharaja was ruler of Lohara, and was most probably in the fortress on the two occasions when it was besieged by Mahmud. He had a long reign and survived his brother, Sangramaraja of Kashmir who died in A. D. 1028. The latter's successor Hariraja ruled only for twenty-two days and then his brother Ananta Deva, a minor sat on the throne of Kashmir. Vighraharaja who aspired to occupy the throne of Kashmir also, took advantage of the confusion prevailing in the valley and in A. D. 1030 put forward his claim to the throne of Kashmir and strengthened it by a rapid march and entered the capital two-and-a-half days after leaving Lohara. He siezed the Lothika-Matha, but was soon after wards killed in scuffle with the Kashmiri army sent against him. The place was also burnt down.³⁷

KSHITIRAJA : A.D. 1030—1065 A.D.

At Lohara his son Kshitiraja succeeded to the throne- He had a long reign of thirty five years. Towards the close of his rule his relations with his son, Bhuvanaraj, became strained due to the latter's vicious life and rebellious spirit, and this greatly distressed the father. Kalhana tells us that he went to the Raja of Kashmir (Ananta Deva) to seek comfort. Meanwhile Bhuvanaraja,, who had unsuccessfully sought to dethrone him and had fled to a neighbouring state Nilapura "probably Babbapura, an ancient capital of Jammu,"³⁸ led an army against his father with the help of the ruler of that state. Bilhana refers to a victory won by Kshitiraja over

35. H. P. H. S., p. 713 .

36. Sachau, *op; cit.*, Vol. I, p. 317.

37. Stein, M.A. *op. cit.*, Bk. VII, Vol. 139-141.

38. HPHS., p. 713,

Rajapuri, which was probably over the combined armies of Rajapuri and Nilapura, supporting his son, of whom no further mention occurs in any records.³⁹ Kshitiraja abdicated and withdrew his hand from all political affair. He bestowed his kingdom on Utkarsha, an infant, the second son of Kalasa and a grandson of Ananta Deva of Kashmir who seems to have acted as his guardian during his minority. Kshitiraja then retired to Chakradhara, a shrine in Kashmir, where he lived as an ascetic-scholar till his death. He had a pious and learned disposition and was devoted to the worship of Vishnu. The poet Bilhana praised him as distinguished in arms as well as in learning, and as equal to Bhoja in fame and patronage of poets.

UTKARSHA : A.D. 1065 to 1089 A.D.

He ruled for about twenty four years and died when he was at the threshold of youth. His name occurs in the list of hill chiefs who, in the winter of A.D. 1087-88, presented themselves in Srinagar as feudatories of Kashmir. In A.D. 1089, Utkarsha had been summoned to Kashmir by Kalasa to be inaugurated as heir-apparant in place of his elder brother Harsha, who was then in prison, in which his father had thrown him for misconduct. Twenty two days after his father's death that year Harsha, with the connivance of his guards, succeeded in making his escape, and was at once installed as Raja by his officials. Utkarsha, fearing a disgraceful death, committed suicide at the age of twenty four years.⁴⁰

Both Lohara and Kashmir being under the rule of members of the same family, these states remained closely aligned to each other and exerted much influence on the politics and the political destiny of each other. With the accession of Utkarsha Lohara lost its separate autonomy. With intermittent period of independence, Lohara was ruled from this time onwards as a province of that kingdom, and the famous fort of Loharakota was used as a treasure house and state prison and place of refuge for Kashmiri royal family in the time of need, Lohara not only continued to play an important part in Kashmir politics, but with the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the throne of Kashmir a wider field for advancement was opened up to the younger princes of that family. Among such princes were two brothers Uchchala and Sussala, great—great—grandsons of Kantiraja, a younger brother of Queen Didda, who were destined to occupy a prominent place in Kashmir history. They mostly resided at Harsha's court

39. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., Bk. VII, Vol. 251 ff.

40. Stein, M.A. *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., Bk. VII, V. 251-261.

and were employed on various types of State service. During a disastrous expedition against the Dards of Krishenganga valley they got into the notice of the people by their bravery and won their admiration. This excited the jealousy and suspicion of Harsha, on account of their right to claim succession to the throne. For fear to their lives they fled at night from Srinagar in A.D. 110, escaped the valley with the help of some of the Damaras or feudal barons. Uchchala found a refuge in Rajapuri and Sussala in a neighbouring Hill State, called Kalinjara which has not been identified.

One day, during his residence at Rajapuri, Uchchala in frenzy of his youth, entered the presence of the Rajapuri Chief and proclaimed his pedigree and his descent from Simharaja of Lohara and his rightful claims to the throne of Kashmir. The Chief of Rajapuri suspected some mischief and made arrangements to prevent his escape. However, he made a forced exit from Rajapuri, and with the help of a few Damaras he proceeded towards Kashmir via Lohara, and crossing the Pir Panjal in Baisakh, A.D. 1101, advanced into the main valley. But he was defeated. He, however, assembled another force and advanced on the capital from the north-west, while his brother, Sussala, came with an army from the south-east. Harsha made a bold resistance, but was defeated and almost all his officials deserted him and he was killed along with his son Bhoja⁴¹. The first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir thus came to an end.

The rule of the second Lohara dynasty started with the accession of Uchchala to the throne of Kashmir in A.D. 1101. He conferred Lohara on his brother, Sussala, as an independent Chiefship, who however, not content with his position, began to intrigue against Uchchala and even made an abortive effort to capture the throne of Kashmir⁴². But in A.D. 1105 the brothers became reconciled to each other and Sussala continued to rule his principality of Lohara. Uchchala's troubles, however, were not over, and in A.D. 1111 he was assassinated in his palace by one of his officers who claimed the throne⁴³; but failing to obtain support, was killed and Sussala was recalled from Lohara and installed as king of Kashmir in the summer of A.D. 1112.

Sussala too could not rule in peace. His two younger half brothers, Salhana and Lothana intrigued for the throne and were

41. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, *op. cit.*, Bk. VII, A. 1281 et seq.

42. *Ibid.*, Bk. VIII, V. 8.

43. *Ibid.*, V. 325 ff.

arrested and sent away as prisoners to the strong fortress of Lohara in which, Sussala had deposited much treasure. Soon afterwards a more serious challenge to his authority was thrown by Bhikshachara, a son of Bhoja and grandson of Harsha, the rightful heir to the throne. On his father's death he had been conveyed by queen Asamati to Malwa where he lived till A.D. 1112. An attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir for him made by some of his followers having failed he took shelter with the chiefs of Hill States, particularly at Chamba the chief of which place was related to him. In A.D. 1120 with the help of Chamba and other Hill Chiefs, he led his armies into Kashmir, defeated Sussala's armies, compelled Sussala to take refuge in Lohara and installed himself as king. But the rule of this rightful heir to the throne of Kashmir was short-lived. His army sent against Sussala and joined by Soma Pala of Rajapuri, met a signal defeat which encouraged Sussala to invade Kashmir and recover his kingdom only after an absence of six months. Though the civil war went on intermittently for ten years but Sussala could maintain a strong hold on his kingdom till his assassination in A.D. 1128⁴⁴. But before his death he had fully integrated Lohara with Kashmir and it was now treated as a province of the kingdom.

Jayasimha, the heir-apparent, who had been sent in A.D. 1120 to Lohara for safety, along with other members of Sussala's family, was now recalled and installed as Yuvaraja, and a governor was then appointed over Lohara. The civil war in Kashmir Valley had continued till Bhikshachara's death in A.D. 1130. Meanwhile, Salhana had died in close confinement in the fort of Lohara where he had been sent along with his brother Lothana. After the death of Sussala the guard over him seems to have been somewhat relaxed. Consequently, in A.D. 1120 Lothana succeeded in winning over some of the soldiers of the garrison, by whom in the absence of the commandant at a neighbouring village he was liberated and crowned. Thus the fort and the treasure accumulated by Sussala fell into his hands.⁴⁵ News of the revolt in Lohara having reached Jayasimha he sent an army from Kashmir to reduce Lothana to submission and recover the place. On the approach of the army Lothana, through his ministers, won over Soma Pala of Rajapuri on promise of rich reward for help. He then had at his court a former Commander-in-

44. *Ibid.*, V. 584 ff.

45. *Ibid.*, Bk. VIII, V. 1794.

Chief of Jayasimha's, called Sujji, who had fled from Kashmir in consequence of intrigues against him. He was placed at the head of the united force which advanced to Lohara, against the Kashmiri army. On hearing of its arrival by the sudden beating of the war drums at night, the Kashmir army fell into a panic and fled in confusion and the Kashmiri ministers were stripped their fine dresses by the plunderers" and "no one drew his sword to protect the troops from being plundered," and consequently "there was not a single minister there who did not fling away courage and flew like a beast." Most of the Kashmir soldiers "showed much skill in their flight, as red-buttocked moneys."⁴⁶ Many perished in the mountain passes and many more after their arrival in Kashmir, from the poison of the malarial fevers contracted in the Lohara Valley.

Lothana thus retained possession of Lohara for some months as an independent ruler.⁴⁷ But affairs there continued unsettled as before. Lothana then made Sujji his Ministers. Jayasimha however, was not reconciled to the loss and in order to recover the province he secretly got into touch with some of Lothana's officers and urged them to depose him and put Mallarjuna, another political prisoner then in the fort and a son of Sussala, in his place. Accordingly when Lothana was absent from the fort they released Mallarjuna and made him Raja⁴⁸.

Mallarjuna came out to be a weak and dissolute ruler and squandered away the wealth that fell to his hands in Lohara fort treasures. Taking advantage of his weakness a Kashmir army was sent against him and he agreed to pay tribute to Jayasimha. Lothana was still strong enough to make his existence felt and with the help of Koshtesvara a powerful Damara hill chief, he made frequent attacks on Lohara and rendered Mallarjuna's position precarious. On the other side a Kashmir force under Sujji, who had been invited to return to Kashmir where he was reinstated in his old position was sent against Lohara in A.D. 1132. On its approach Mallarjuna took alarm, and taking the treasure with him, abandoned the fort and fled to Rajapuri and was robbed on the way. At a later date, in A.D. 1135, while making an irruption into Kashmir he was defeated, captured and imprisoned, and Lohara was again restored to Kashmir⁴⁹.

46. *Ibid.* Bk. VIII, V. 1879 ff.

47. *Ibid.* Bk. VIII, V. 1921 ff.

48. *Ibid.* Bk. VIII, V. 1941-47.

49. *Ibid.* BK. VIII, V. 1989-2309.

Lothana still remained at large, stirring up disaffection, till in A. D. 1143, he was compelled to take refuge in a hill fort in the Kishenganga Valley, which was beseiged by the Kashmir army. Lothana's resistance broke down on account of scarcity of provisions. The officers in the fort therefore surrendered Lothana to Jayasimha to purchase the raising of the seige, and was imprisoned. Thus both of the claimants to the throne were got out of the way, and a governor was sent to rule the Lohara State.

Jayasimha died in A. D. 1154, and was succeeded by his second son Paramanuka and his grandson, Vartideva, with the latter of whom the second Lohara dynasty in Kashmir came to an end in A. D. 1171. Jayasimha's eldest son, Gulhana, then a child, was crowned as ruler of Lohara towards the end of his reign. This was probably intended to secure his succession against future risks.⁵⁰ It seems not improbable that this branch of the Lohara family continued to rule the state long after the main line in Kashmir came to an end in A. D. 1171.⁵¹

After the twelfth century the Lohara State is seldom referred to in the Kashmir chronicles subsequent to that of Kalhana, and only a couple of times in the Muhammadan period, dating from A.D. 1339, when Hindu rule in Kashmir finally ceased. The first mention occurs in the reign of Kumbhadin⁵² (Kutbuddin), A. D. 1373-1389. At that time Lohara was ruled by a Hindu ruler of Kshatri or Rajput caste who was called the "lord of Lohara", and possibly belonged to the old ruling family. He had been in revolt against Kashmir, and in the reign of Shahabuddin, father of Kutbuddin a force was sent which had to retreat "in fear of the lord of the country." When Kutbuddin ascended the throne he despatched a more formidable force under a powerful Damara (feudal chief), named Lolaka, who laid seige to the fort and surrounded it on all sides. The Lohara chief sent some trustworthy Brahmans to settle terms of capitulation, who were ill-treated by the Damara. Thereupon the Raja determined to hold out at all costs with the result that besiegers were so hard pressed that they had to retreat with the loss of their leader, who was struck and killed. As the poet humorously remarked, "The stones discharged by the enemy covered the Damara Lolaka, so that he was not deprived of burial, the last rite of the yavanas."⁵³

50. Stein, M. A. *Rajatarangini*, *op. cit.*,

51. H. P. H. S., *op. cit.*, p. 719.

52. *Jonaraja-Rajatarangini*, text edited by Srikanth Hoshiarpur, 1967, stanzas 464-500; Eng. tr. by Dutt, 1898, pp. 47-48.

53. *Ibid.*

The next reference is in the reign of Zainul Abidin (A. D. 1420-70), who had three sons ; the second Haji Khan was sent to Lohara, as Ferishta states, to conquer the country, which he succeeded in doing. We may therefore assume that the Hindu dynasty came to an end about this time (A. D. 1450), as there is no further reference to it in any chronicle.

An interesting point in connection with the above reference is that Haji Khan had his residence at Parnotsa (Punch) and not at Loharakotta, like the former Rajas. The fort, however, was still in existence, for we find one of the Kashmir nobles, named Jahangir Makri, fleeing to it for safety, in the reign of Hassan Shah, the son of Haji or Haidar Shah. The State was still called Lohara or Lohkot, though in all likelihood Parnotsa now became the capital, as it has continued to be down to the present time. The last reference to Lohara, in the *Rajatarangini* of Prajyabhatta and Suka, is towards the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah (c. A. D. 1530), the great-grandson of Zain-ul-Abidin. This king was thrice compelled to flee from Kashmir by other claimants to the throne, especially Fath Shah, son of Adham Khan. On the third occasion he seems to have been confined in the Lohara fort, and on being liberated, in A. D. 1530, he "came to Lohara and exacted revenues and other taxes from towns like the former sovereigns of the country." From this it is clear that Hindu rule must have ceased sometime previously, and the territory probably remained directly under Kashmir as an Imperial demesne, after the commencement of Mughal rule in A. D. 1586, down to the reign of Jahangir, when it was granted to the ancestor of the Muhammadan 'dynasty which ruled the country till 1819. The lower portion of the Tohi Valley had previous to this been made a separate State, with the capital at Kotli, ruled by a branch of the Kashmir royal family.⁵⁴

Punch State

Loharakota was an ancient site and had been besieged and damaged several times after the commencement of Muslim rule in Kashmir in 1339 A. D. Gradually this fort seems to have fallen in importance due to its decay and the town of Punch became the capital of the state under its Muslim rulers. Punch finds frequent mention in the chronicles of Zainul Abidin's and Mughal period. First mention of Punch as chief political town has been made

54. *H. P. H. S.*, p. 720.

55. *Ibid.*

during Zainul Abidin's reign, in about 1450 A. D. Muslim Chief and governors seem to have been appointed in Lohara and Punch on the extinction of the Hindu Lohara dynasty during the fourteenth century. The Muhammadan ruling dynasty in Punch however, was installed during Akbar's reign. The dynasty is popularly known to be of Gujar extraction. But various sources of their history assert their Rajput origin.

It seems certain that Punch became the capital from the time of Muhammad Shah, 1530 or earlier, and from it the state in later times took its name which it has borne ever since. The name Lohara then fell into disuse. Punch, as derivative of Pronts, was an ancient name of the place which already existed contemporaneously with that of Lahara. The territorial limits of Punch at that time were almost the same as that of the Punch Jagir in 1947.

The ancestor of the Muhammadan dynasty is said to have been Man Singh, a cadet of the Jodhpur family. According to Tod,⁵⁶ Raja Udey Singh Rathor of Jodhpur died in A. D. 1596, leaving behind seventeen sons and daughters, of whom tenth son was named Jaswant Singh who had a son named Man Singh. Man Singh's son Sarje or Surjan Singh along with his Rani, embraced Islam, left Rajputana, went to Kashmir becoming Muslim. Surjan Singh was renamed *Sirajuddin-Khan*.⁵⁷ He came to Punch sometime in the reign of Jahangir and settled in Kahuta. There he became acquainted with the local official of Gujar tribe, whose title was Chaudhari, and married his only daughter. Later, he succeeded his father-in-law to his property as well as title. Because of this fact some writers erroneously asserted that Sirajuddin Khan was a Gujar.⁵⁸

Sometimes afterwards the Emperor came by Punch on one of his visits to Kashmir, and it fell to Chaudhari Sirajuddin Khan to arrange everything for the Imperial Camp. This duty he discharged with such ability that the Emperor was pleased, and on being informed that the Chaudhari belonged to the Rathor family of Jodhpur he was appointed ruler of Punch. He probably assumed or received the title of 'Raja' and continued to rule the State for some years. He was succeeded by his son, *Fateh Muhammad Khan*, who also had a long reign. Most of his life was spent in suppressing inner revolts and in battles with the *subedars* of Kashmir. He was

56. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.

57. *H. P. H. S.*, p. 721.; *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Sudhron* (urdu) Ms. by Maulvi Abdullah Shah.

58. *H. P. H. S.*, p. 721.

finally killed while suppressing the rebellion of Janun Khan Maldyal, in about A. D. 1700. He entered an agreement with the Khakha rulers of Uri to determine the Punch frontier on that side.

Abdul Razzak was the next ruler, who is said to have built the Punch fort. He extended his possessions by annexing to Punch a number of villages in Mirpur, Kotli and Chibhal. Like his father he had several times to measure arms with the governor of Kashmir. On one occasion two of his elder sons and his able minister Daya Ram, were murdered in Srinagar along with five hundred soldiers. Abdul Razzak's *wazir* Latifullah Tarkhan was a powerful and ambitious man and when he died, leaving behind an infant son Ali Gohar Khan, the *wazir* usurped the throne of Punch. Ali Gohar's mother went underground along with her son.

When the governor of Kashmir was informed of these developments in Punch he directed Islam Yar Khan the Raja of Punch to suppress the usurper, which he successfully did and continued to rule over Punch for several years. Meanwhile, *Ali Gohar Khan* came of age and approached the governor of Kashmir for restoration of his patrimony. His claim was accepted and he was acknowledged as the ruler of Punch.

Ali Gohar Khan got back the sovereignty of Punch by the intervention of the Afghan governor of Kashmir and ruled under the title of Rustam Khan. He is said to have invited learned men and artisans to settle at Punch and renamed the town Rustam Nagar after his name. He was contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Dev. He seems to have been a popular and just ruler. He behaved independently and established his diplomatic relations with the ruler of Kabul. It is said that the petty Rajas of Bhimbar, Khadi, Uri, Tos-maidan, Mirpur and Kotli were subject to him.⁵⁹ He had very cordial relations with Kabul and when the Afghan governor of Kashmir revolted in 1785 the Amir empowered Raja Rustam Khan to suppress the revolt. Consequently, he invaded Kashmir and captured the governor and sent him to Amir Timur Shah of Kabul. The Amir used to send an annual *khilat* to Raja Rustam Khan on whom he had conferred the title of "Ali-jah, rafi'-ul-jai-gah, umdat-ul-Khwanind fattam. ikhlas-o-ucidat farjam, Raja Rustam Khan Sahib Raja Rustam Nagar."⁶⁰ It was during his days that the father of Ruhullah the famous *wazir* of Punch, named Mitha, came from Mazaffarnagar and settled in Punch and Ruhullah joined the retinue of Raja Rustam Khan among the 'hookah' bearers.

59. Fauq Maulvi Muhammad Din, *Tarkh-i-Aquam-i-Punch*.

60. *Ibid.*

Rustam Khan died in 1788 after 28 years of rule and left behind three sons, Shahbaz Khan, Jangbaz Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan. The eldest succeeded to the throne. During his reign Raja Karamullah Khan of Rajauri attacked Punch but was badly repulsed. Shahbaz Khan was the '*hafiz*' of the holy Quran. He ruled only for five years and died in 1792 without a male issue, hence his youngest brother Raja Khan Bahadur Khan succeeded to the throne. It was during his rule that Ruhullah Khan had risen so much in favour that he was made *wazir* of the state after the death of Muhammad Khan Khanetar. The same *wazir* collaborated with the governor of Kashmir Abdullah Khan Alkozai, in conspiracy against the life of Raja Khan Bahadur Khan who was poisoned to death. Thus Punch was left to the mercy of Ruhullah Khan who seated his own son Amir Khan on the throne of Punch and took reins of government in his own hands.

But the rule of Ruhullah Khan was beset with frequent upheavals and chaos. The ruler of Sadhrun and Kahuta, Raja Sherbaz Khan, drove Ruhullah Khan out of Punch and usurped the throne with the help of the Afghan governor of Kashmir. However the usurpation proved a short-lived affair. Ruhullah once again got back the throne by the favour and aid of the governor of Kashmir and re-established his son, Raja Amir Khan, on the throne of Punch. But soon after they were faced with Sikh invasions from the Punjab.

Several stories are current about those chaotic and lawless days. One of them concerns the band of adventurers called Dev-Pal. It was organised by a scion of a Sasson (Sarsut) Brahman family which migrated from Kashmir and taken its abode at a village Bhan-tani in Pulandari territory. The name of this brave Brahman was Deva. He raised a group of young and brave men, both from Hindu and Muslim communities, who defended their villages from plunderers and lawless elements at the cost of their lives. The band came to be called Dev-Pal after the name of its organiser. Once the Dev-Pal leader fell into hands of his enemy chief along with forty of his companions. The chief bound them all in chains and dragged them to his house to kill them. But the wife of the chief dissuaded him from doing so because the Dev-Pals were good people and they defended the country and helped the oppressed. The Dev-Pal leader also did not kill the chief when he fell into his hands, because this would have widowed the kind woman who had saved him and his men from total destruction. These good turns made them friend of each other.

However, the Dev-Pals were very vindictive indeed. One

Mehta Mast Ram belonged to this Dev-Pal family. He was an influential *zamindar*. A certain Muslim chief Sardar Hasan Ali Khan, was his great enemy. When once Hasan Ali Khan's men drove away the cattle of the Mehta's men by force, he swore vengeance, for which he got an opportunity after a year and got him shot dead. These stories were sung by the bards (*Bhats*) of the Dev-Pal family.

Another story of a similar relentless vengeance by a certain Niaz Bibi is also popular in Punch. She was a woman of a fascinating charm. Her husband's brother Muhammad Alam Khan, became so madly infatuated by her beauty that he once killed her young son and husband before her eyes. The helpless woman became heart broken and writhed for revenge, so that when after some time Muhammad Alam offered to marry her she readily consented. When sometime has passed she went to her parents, Muhammad Alam also accompanied her. There she murdered him in cold blood with the help of her brothers and quenched her thirst for revenge on the murderer of her son and husband.

From 1752 to 1819, Punch along with other Hill States was under Durrani rule, and as we have seen, due to dynastic rivalries and the interference of the Afghan governor of Kashmir, chaos continued to prevail in the state. With the rise of Sikh power in the Punjab the political chaos in the Hill States, more especially in Punch aggravated. Before 1810 Ranjit Singh had established his supremacy over all the Hill States east of the Chenab. Now he directed his energy towards those to the west of that river. His main objective was to conquer Kashmir from the Afghan rulers who still claimed suzerainty over that country and states to the west of the Chenab. The subjection of the states of Bhimbar, Rajauri, Khari-Khari, Kotli and Punch thus became a necessary preliminary to any further advance⁶¹. Bhimbar and Mirpur were reduced in 1810.⁶² and 1812 after much hard fighting. In 1813 Maharaja Ranjit Singh personally led Sikh armies to Punch. Ruhallah Khan the Raja of Punch had sympathy with the Afghans. Ranjit Singh, therefore, wrote him a letter asking his cooperation in the conquest of Kashmir. To this an evasive answer was returned, pleading engagements with Kashmir and inability to comply with the Maharaja's wishes, as his son was a hostage in the hands of the Durrani.⁶³ Thereupon

61. *HPHS.*, Vol. II, p. 722.

62. Latif, S.M., *History of the Punjab*, pp. 388 and 393.

63. *HPHS.*, Vol. II, p. 722.

the Maharaja personally led a division of the army into Tohi valley⁶⁴, while a second contingent advanced through the route over the Pir Panjal. Ruhallah Khan, with his armies fell back before them in the direction of the Tosa Maidan Pass, after issuing orders to his people to abandon all towns and villages and harass the enemy in every way. The Sikh movement was delayed for want of supplies and rainy season set in which caused much hardship to the invaders due to dampness and cold. The troops of the Raja of Punch, in league with that of Rajauri, hung on their flanks and cut off stragglers. When Ranjit Singh reached Tosa Maidan Pass he found it strongly held by the Afghans. Meanwhile the other division of Sikh army had crossed the Pir Panjal and entered the Kashmir Valley, but was defeated and compelled to retreat. Hearing of this disaster to the Sikh force the Afghans ordered a general attack on the main Sikh army led by Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself. The Sikhs were unable to hold their ground; and they retreated which soon ended in a rout. Sikh armies fled in great disorder. Maharaja Ranjit Singh hurriedly set Punch town on fire and left it in a precipitate flight towards Lahore; accompanied only by a few followers, escaping with great difficulty. In this disorderly retreat whole of the camp baggage was lost, and great numbers were killed, including several officers.

Ranjit Singh's preoccupations elsewhere gave Punch a few years lease of independence though Ranjit Singh seethed with revenge all these years. The opportunity came when in 1819 Ranjit Singh conquered and occupied Kashmir and all the Hill country slipped under his control. On this occasion also the Raja of Punch sided with Afghans and was consequently expelled out of his state on the defeat of Afghans in Kashmir.

Of the subsequent history of the family very little is known. Ruhallah also belonged to the Sangu clan of the Gujjars, died in 1819, and four years after him, his son Raja Amir Khan also followed him to the grave. He was succeeded to the throne by his son Raja Mir Baz Khan. By this time Gulab Singh had conquered Punch on orders of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and so Raja Mir Baz Khan was called to Lahore where he was murdered by one of his old enemies. Maharaja then granted a *jagir* in Punch to Sher Baz Khan, the head of the collateral branch of the family which was held by his descendants till 1947. Raja Ghulam Mohai-ud-Din of Sadhrun was one of the last *jagirdar*.

64. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 402-404.

From 1752 to 1819 Punch was under Durrani rule. But on the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs in 1819, Punch along with other hill states came under Ranjit's suzerainty. Raja Ruhallah Khan had sided with Afghans in 1814 so he was expelled from the State. Soon after Punch was granted as a fief to Dhian Singh and later in 1828 received the title of Raja of Bhimber and Chibhal (Punch)—*raj riyasat mulik-i-Bhimbar-w-Chibhal*⁶⁵. Dhian Singh remained the Raja of Punch till his death in November, 1843. But he was at the same time Prime Minister of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore and could not reside at Punch, so Raja Gulab Singh looked after Punch affairs also out of necessity and also in conformity with a family pact which empowered him to administer the *jagirs* and estates of all the members of the family. However, Dhian Singh appointed his Diwan and other officers to run the administration and collect revenues. About 1832 certain Dilbagh Rai held the office of Diwan. During these days Shamash Khan, one of the headman of the Sudhun tribe of Punch had been held as hostage at Lahore. He won the favour of Dhian Singh so that he recommended Dilbagh Rai to associate Shamash Khan to Punch administration. Shamsh proved treacherous and taking courage from Sikh reverses in Peshawar he rebelled and the whole country rose in arms against the Dogras. Gulab Singh had personally to lead 300 or 400 men against him and it was after some difficulty that Shamash and his rebel companions were captured and mercilessly killed. The rebellion was finally stamped out with iron hand by October 1837⁶⁶.

Probably immediately after this event French traveller G.T. Vigne passed through Punch in 1837 on his way to Kashmir. About Punch he made the following observation :

“Punch itself is in no way remarkable, it is much less than Rajawar and somewhat larger than Kotli, the houses being of the same construction, and not being aware of anything of sufficient interest to detain me there I commenced at once the ascent to the pass (Tosa Maiden). It is usually necessary to pass the night at Kahuta, having first ridden through the district of Sudarun at the mouth of the valley.”

“At the latter place I once met a large retinue and exchanged

65. *Persian Document No. M/507*, Punjab State Archives, Patiala ; Vigne *Travels*, p. 248, *HPHS.*, pp. 698, 724 ; Shahamat Ali, *Sikhs and Afghans* p. 95.

66. Smyth, G. C. *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 206-7; *History of the Panjab*. Allen & Co., pp. 137-40.

compliments with its Chief, Raja Sher-Baz Khan, who was hunting. He was, I believe, the descendant of the Raja of Punch. But that place and all that was subject to it were under the iron rule of Gulab Singh or his brothers."⁶⁷

Raja Dhian Singh remained the Raja of the state till 15th September, 1843, when he was assassinated, on the same day as Maharaja Sher Singh, by the Sindhanwalia Sardars. Gulab Singh however, continued to administer all the estates of the family, including Punch as under a written family pact⁶⁸ the leadership of the whole family was given to Raja Gulab Singh and he was given full control over the territory and estate of the family and their produce and income⁶⁹. Dhian Singh was succeeded to the offices of Prime Minister of the Lahore kingdom by his eldest son Hira Singh, who in his turn was also assassinated on 22nd December, 1844 while escaping to Jammu after a successful coup against him. The Lahore government had declared him and his companions as rebels, so whole of his property and estates, *jagirs*, etc., were confiscated. The Khalsa Darbar records reveal that "After the death of Raja Hira Singh the territory of Chibhal, Punch, Kotli, Saila and Behram Gala had been confiscated by *Sarkar Khalsaaji* in the month of Poh (January, 1845) and had been entrusted to Faiz-talab Khan. Afterwards, according to the letter written on 9th of the Jeth 1902, it was transferred to Sardar Chattar Singh⁷⁰. Thus Punch again reverted to the sovereign. But after the first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, the hill tracts, including Punch, were made over to Gulab Singh in March 1846, as a part of Jammu and Kashmir State of which he was recognized the Maharaja. In the treaty no provision was made for the separate autonomy of Punch which thus became a part of Jammu and Kashmir State. This and other causes aroused strong feeling between Jawahir Singh, Raja Hira Singh's younger brother, and his uncle, Gulab Singh. Jawahir Singh filed a suit against his uncle in the court of Mr. Currie, the British Resident at Lahore, and claimed Punch as the family estate and half share of the state. His claim was not admitted. But Maharaja Gulab Singh bestowed the title of 'Raja' on Jawahir Singh and his younger brother, Moti Singh, and gave them the territories of Chibhal, Punch, Chalayar, Danala and other villages, totalling to an annual revenue of three lakhs

67. Vigne, G.T., *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 248-49.

68. *Document No. D/25 (Persian)*, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

69. *Ibid.*, Clauses 16, 18, 19, 23 and 30.

70. *Document No. D/67 (Persian)*, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

and forty thousand rupees, on condition of a levy and *nazara*, which were afterwards abolished.

Raja Jawahir Singh was not reconciled to such a subordinate position as even this small *Jagir* was to be considered a part of the Kashmir Kingdom,⁷¹ and both the brothers were subject to Gulab Singh's authority. Jawahir Singh remained discontented and became a tool in the hands of his evil advisers. He continued to complain of ill-treatment at the hands of Gulab Singh. Raja Moti Singh, however, was reconciled to his uncle, and very cordial relations developed between them. This fact resulted in worsening of relations between the two brothers. Consequently, on petition of Raja Moti Singh, the estate was divided between them by the Board of Administration for Punjab on 30th August, 1852.⁷² This division made Raja Jawahir Singh more defiant. He had already sent his confidant, Moulvi Majhar Ali to Peshawar to raise an army for him which was prevented by the British officers. He now excited his people to raise a revolt. Consequently, in April, 1855 the Jammu Court sent a force into Punch and besieged and occupied a number of Jawahir Singh's forts, which were, however, restored to the Raja on intervention of the British Government.⁷³

Raja Jawahir Singh's hostile attitude continued. It seems that he had lost all sense of proportion and indulged in more reckless conspiracy against the new Maharaja Ranbir Singh after the death of Gulab Singh in 1857. He was found to have engineered, in collaboration with Mian Hathu, an illegitimate son of Gulab Singh, a conspiracy to kill Maharaja Ranbir Singh. At last, in 1859 he was forced to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, Raja Moti Singh and exiled from the state. He was given an annual allowance of rupees one lakh, and he undertook not to employ any, neither to carry on correspondence with, subjects of the Maharaja, and to bound himself to remain only at a place to the east of Ambala.⁷⁴

As we have narrated above, the Punch *Jagir* was finally established in 1859 under the rule of Raja Moti Singh, when the elder brother, Raja Jawahir Singh was exiled from the state. In its

71. Bawa, Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern Illinois University Press, 1974, p. 131.

72. *Document No. D/28 Persian*, decision of the Court of Sir H. M. Lawrence, President Board of Administration for Punjab, dated 30-8-1852. Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

73. Bawa, Satinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

74. *Document No. D/29 (Persian)* copy of agreement from Raja Jawahir Singh, dated 18 February, 1859. Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

final form it covered an area of over 1600 square miles lying between 33°—5' and 34°—2' North latitude and 73° and 75°—5' East Latitude. Its population at the census of 1941, was 4,21,828. The principal languages spoken were Kashmiri, Dogri, Gojri, Pahari and Punjabi. It was divided into seven Tehsils as follows :

1. *Haveli*, containing three *pargnah*, Haveli, Mandi and Tat, with a revenue of Rs. 47,000 annually.
2. **Maindarh**, containing two *parganah*, Maindarh and Sohrin, with an annual revenue of Rs. 47,000.
3. **Purawa-Thakiala**, containing two *parganahs* of Purawa and Thakiala, with an annual revenue of Rs. 11,000.
4. **Baghan**, containing two *parganahs*, Baghan and Salian, with annual revenue of Rs. 46,000.
5. **Parl**, containing five large villages, Parl Pulungi, Palandari, Hangora and Barul, with annual revenue of Rs. 45,000.
6. **Panjsura**, containing five large villages, Panjsura, Behramgulla. Chandimarh, Dogri and Poshana, with annual revenue, Rs. 1,350.
7. **Sudrun**, a hilly tract, held in jagir by Raja Sarandaz Khan Gujar, a hereditary chief, at the time of transfer of Punch to Raja Moti Singh, annual revenue, Rs. 10,000.

Raja was the head of the *Jagir* administration. Raja Moti Singh was assisted by Hara Singh, the prime minister or *wazir* who was the chief adviser and co-adjutor of the Raja in all matters of finance and trade. During nineteen forties Ch. Bhagat Ram and Pandit-Bhim Sain served as *wazirs* of Raja Shiv Rattan Dev Singh. There was a commander-in-chief of the troops of Raja Moti Singh. This official was also chief judicial functionary. Mian Gulab Singh, a relation of the Raja, was Raja Moti Singh's commander-in-chief. Administration was mostly run by these two officials. There were five *tehsil* officers or *tehsildars*, nine *thanadars*, and a few Head Munshis and other officials in the Suddar office. There was 200 sepoy under the *thanadars* who helped the officials in maintaining law and order. Also there was a regiment of infantry, consisting of 400 sepoy and officers. The regiment was properly drilled and disciplined. The sepoy were armed with "Bhurmar" (flint guns) and swords. In 1882 the whole force in the Raja's territory was 1,000 men, mostly Dogras and Chibhalis. The total estimated cost of civil and military establishment was over Rs. 25,000 per annum. Afterwards the *jagir* army was abolished and the Police force was strengthened to enable it to cope with the problem of Law and order. In 1946 the sanctioned strength of the police force

was one superintendent, one Assistant superintendent, 3 Inspectors, 17 sub-Inspectors, 64 Head constables and 400 Foot constables. They had to undergo courses of drill, physical training and musketry.

Institutions of local administration also developed during the twentieth century. The Punch town had a Municipality which in the year 1945-46 consisted of 14 members, of whom 3 were officials, 7 elected and 4 nominated. They looked after civil amenities according to their humble resources. There were 54 *Panchayats* in the Jagir in 1946, which disposed off both civil and criminal cases in villages, and were in general engaged in uplift work.

Judicial system in early phase was quite crude and there was no code or written law. All decisions were regulated by precedents, will, or judgement of the presiding officer. No records of cases, excepting those of murder, kine-killing, etc., were prepared, either in the *muffasil* or *sudar* courts. All crimes and offences, criminal and revenue, were punishable by fine which was usually resorted to, and imprisonment, without any limited term, was awarded on default. Capital punishment was never inflicted. Imprisonment was commutable to fine even in case of murder. In cases of theft and cattle-stealing, both parties were fined. Musalmans had to pay marriage tax and get marriage contracts registered. In case of failure to do so all the parties concerned, including the *kazi*, the relatives of the bride, the husband and even the *lambardar* of the village were punished by fine which was fixed in each case. There was the *Sudar Adalt* or High Court of the Raja to which petitions were made on stumped/paper.

The usual *begar* system prevailed. In addition the agricultural classes have to supply *begaris* at the rate of one man to every two houses, to collect grass for the Raja's stables and fuel for his kitchen as well as for sale to a contractor to whom the monopoly of the sale of fuel in the town of Punch was given. For such reasons the administration of Raja Moti Singh was complained of as being very oppressive, and the taxation as exceedingly heavy. However, the Raja seems to have reformed the whole system which was prevalent from 1859 to 1863, so that a British officer, Sir Oliver St. John referred in a demiofficial letter of the 6th August, 1883 to "the success of Moti Singh of Punch in governing that little dependent state."

Judicial and administrative reforms were carried still further and by the close of the year 1945-47 the courts came to be classified

in three categories with well-defined jurisdictions. There were 18 courts exercising criminal justice, 9 courts exercising civil jurisdiction and another 8 courts exercising jurisdiction civil justice under the Agriculturists Relief Act. Also there were two appellate courts. The total number of cases registered in the three types of courts by the close of the year 1945-46 was 5,918 criminal, 2,871 civil and 628 civil-agricultural. In appellate courts 261 appeals were made. The incidence of crime was comparatively low, only 474 cases reported during the year, of which only .6 were of serious nature.

The system of taxation was quite complicated. Land tax, including grazing taxes of *Zar-i-Chopan* and *Shakhshumari* and license tax (*Baj-i-peshewaran*) was the main source of income. It amounted annually to Rs. 2,17,350 in 1863; whereas land revenue demand for S. 2002 (A. D: 1945) was Rs. 4,27,530 and *Tirmi* demand (grazing tax) amounted to Rs. 69,220 in addition. The total area under cultivation that year was 2,15,700 acres. Land revenue was collected in cash, at revenue rates fixed on land with reference to the quality of land, ranging from Rs. 2 and annas 12 to Rs. 3 and annas 4 according to the quantity of seed sown. Some additional taxes were collected in kind. The first gathering of the cotton crop belonged to government. Two seers of wheat or rice for each rupee of land revenue, *pattu* woollen cloth one yard per rupee of land revenue, *ghee* two seers per buffalo, and one seer per cow, was collected in kind. The fruit of *khubani* (apricot), *zardaloo*, *butung* (pears) and *nakh* was collected as much as was required by the government; *anardana* was collected at the rate of five to ten seers per house or family.

The *Zar-i-Chopan* (grazing tax) was levied on shepherds at the rate of Rs. 15 annas 10 per 100 heads of sheep. The *shakh-shumari* was collected from the owners, who were mostly Gujjars, at the rate of one rupee and eight annas per buffalo and twelve annas per cow. *Zar-i-markab* was levied at the rate of five rupees per pony used for commercial transport. *Baj-i-Peshewuran* was a tax on trades and occupations. All *banias*, traders, artisans had to pay at the rate of two rupees per shop or house. Finally there was ; the *zakat* which consisted of transit and town duties (customs duties or excise which brought Rs. 21,000 in 1883 and Rs. 80,000 in 1846. Stamped also brought a revenue of Rs. 8,000. A similar amount was raised from *phoolsehra* or tax on marriage from Muhammadans. The government also held monopoly of sale of *chob-i-kooth* (*aucklandia voracosta*), *chikri* wood and iron *Furoee* or fines levied in the judicial and revenue cases brought some 50,000 rupees. The *khalsa*

land paid into the Raja's treasury over Rs. 2,97,000. Thus the total income of the *Jagir* in 1863 amounted to Rs. 6,14,600, which had increased to rupees 12,64,800 in the year 1945-46. The total expenditure in that year was over Rs. 10,45,000, of which the largest share went to the Raja and his household and stables which amounted to rupees 2,43,750, which formed about one-fourth of the total expenditure.

Rajapuri or Rajaori State

The ancient town of Rajapuri, now called Rajaori, which was once the headquarters of an important principality known after its name, played a very prominent role in the history of Abhisara hills and the internal affairs of Kashmir in the medieval age. The *Rajatarangini* frequently mentions it as an important hill state. It comprised the valleys drained by the Tohi of Rajaori and its tributaries. The upper valley of the Tohi of Prunts (Punch) leading to the Pir Panjal was included in Rajapuri territory¹. According to some of the travellers the Rajaori rule extended north and south 20 to 25 miles, and about 30 miles from east to west ; its northern boundary was the Rattan ridge ; to the south the country of the Bhimbar *raj*² : Sir A. Cunningham estimated the district of Rajaori proper 'nearly a square of about 40 miles each side, bounded on the north by the Pir Panchal on the west by Punch, on the south by Bhimbar. and on the east by Riasi and Akhnur.³

However, Yuan Chawang's account shows that at the time of

1. Stein, M.A. *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 433.
2. Drew, F. : *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 155.
3. Cunningham, Sir A. : *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 109.

his visit to Rajapuri (which he calls Ko-lo-she-pu-lo) was considerably vast, some 4000 li or 667 miles in circuit⁴, and probably it included whole of the hill-states as far as the Chenab. In the upper valley of the Punch Tohi lay probably the famous stronghold of Rajagiri known also to Alberuni.⁴

A century ago Rajauri was a large and partly walled town, very picturesquely situated on the side of a low range of jungle-covered hills about 150 feet above the right bank of the Rajauri-Tawi river, which flows down from the Rattan Pir mountains. The houses were substantially built, chiefly of dressed stone, and several had two storeys. The town was some 55 miles from Bhimbar and 95 miles from Sirinagar towards south-west. Opposite the town on the left bank of the river, the valley opened out into a wide and extensive plain which was for the most part richly cultivated with rice. For a considerable part of the year climate was mostly cool and bracing, but at certain seasons of the year Rajauri had an evil reputation for fever; Snow storms were frequent in January, and the snow often lay two whole days on the ground.

Rajauri was an ancient principality and might have been established many centuries before Hiuen Tsiangs's visit to the place during 631-32 A.D., and several edifices might have been raised, but there remained nothing of ancient remains of Hindu period except a few architectural fragments, mostly in the Muhalla of Andarkot, belonging to temples similar to those of Kashmir. But of the period of Muslim rulers of Rajauri and Mughal supremacy, there were a few constructions still in good order, some of them improvised into government offices. These included the Ullumnote or royal cemetery, which was situated at the back of the town, and contained about twenty tombs of the old chiefs of Rajauri; the Amkhas and the Musafir-khana, both *sarais* standing near the middle of the town; "the royal palace which was a most imposing range of buildings at its lower end, and the temple adjoining it."⁵ There was also a fine old Mandi or market place near the palace, which was in ruins having been destroyed by fire when the town was taken by the Sikh army in 1821 A.D. There were two or three mosques, the *sarai* and a garden belonging to Mughal group of structures. There were two Mughal *sarais*. The one had been converted into a tehsil, with newly built set of rooms. The gateway and some fragments of the walls at the corners are all that

4. Sachau. *Alberuni's Indica*.

5. *Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, p. 690.

survives of the original edifice. The other *sarai* had undergone a complete transformation in order to house the local police and the state Dispensary.

The two Mughal mosques were in somewhat better condition. One was on the bank of the Tawi, a little lower down the bridge. Though itself a somewhat larger building it had a facade only of three arches. The three chambers inside had domed roofs, the middle one being larger than the other two. It had an enclosed courtyard with arched entrance in the north wall and another smaller door towards river side. The entrance had a double arch with a smaller opening in the middle.⁶ The stone mortices of the doorway could be seen. Another mosque of the same type was situated in the bazar which was in a better state of preservation. It had a small tank for heating water and cuspedarched entrances. There was another small single-chamber mosque ascribable to Mughal period.

But by far the best preserved and most interesting of all the Mughal remains in Rajauri was the garden situated on the edge of a plateau overlooking the river. "It consists of a walled enclosure, divided into four sections by two channels crossing each other at right angles at the centre. The one running from east to west, has all the fountains intact. At the point of intersection of the channels is a raised platform with a tank containing five fountains, arranged in a quincunx. Broad raised foot-paths edged with ashlar dressed stones border the channels on either side. A two storeyed *baradari* stands in the middle of the west wall overlooking the river. The upper storey has a spacious hall in the middle with two rooms on each side and is used as a Dak Bungalow. The ground floor to which access is gained from above by a couple of stairs (one on each side) has only half this accommodation. The ceiling seems to have been originally of wood, for some old carved wooden brackets and capitals are still met within the hideous wooden ceiling which the later Rajas who succeeded the Mughals put up here, probably after the original ceiling had decayed. In the central hall is a recess which contains a perfectly preserved cascade with a small cistern at its base. Water for the cascade was conducted through a channel from the main course, above and was carried out by a smaller channel which runs through the middle of the hall. The outer walls are surmounted by a cornice which supported long projecting eaves. It is remarkable that the eaves were built of small bricks, and it speaks well for the strength and consistency of the mortar that parts of it still

6. Kak, R.C. : *Antiquities of Bhimbar and Rajauri*, p. 10.

survive the effects of three centuries of good and bad weather. Two flights of steps in the northern and southern walls give admission to the roofs. The miniature domes which surmount three upper ends are considerably damaged.”⁷

“The garden wall has octagonal bastions at the corners. Access to the cells inside is gained through a vestibule which has a facade of three arches with a stair on each side leading up to the roof.

“The water which fed the fountains was brought from a *nala* about a mile and a half upstream. For the greater part of its way it is a *kachcha* irrigation channel winding through the fields, but as it nears the garden, it is carried on a dry stone embankment until within a hundred yards or so of the wall, when the *kachcha* embankment gives place to a *pakka* conduit. The stream finally discharges itself in a cistern from which an earthen pipe enclosed in a *pakka* wall carries the water into the channel which feeds the fountains. The surplus water of the cistern is turned into the fields by a drain in its eastern wall,”⁸

Among the remains of the later rulers of Rajauri were two palaces and one small fort. The palaces which were situated one at each end of the town are no better than ordinary village huts except their size. There was a large Hindu temple prominently situated on a ridge, belonging to the early days of Gulab Singh’s occupation of the town.

Rajapuri was at a strategic position on the direct route to the Panjab, hence it was brought into relations with Kashmir since early days of its known history. When Hiuen Tsiang passed through it, about 632-33 A.D. ‘the kingdom of Rajapuri’ was subject to Kashmir⁹. From the tenth century onwards the chiefs of Rajapuri seem to have been practically independent rulers, though Kalhana mentions a number of expeditions undertaken into their territory by Kashmir kings during eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰

Rajapuri seems to have been quite ancient state and, as pointed out earlier, finds mention by Hiuen Tsiang in about 632 A.D. who tells us that the state at that time spread from the Jehlum to the Chenab. It was therefore much prior to the Chinese traveller, founded probably during the fifth century A.D. Nothing is known

7. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Si-Yu-Ki*, I, pp. 136, 143, 147, 163.

10. Cunningham, Sir, A. : *op. cit.*, p. 109.

about the earlier dynasty of its rulers, but it seems to have been occupied by a scion of the Pala dynasty of Bengal during the 8th-9th century. Rajapuri finds first mention in the *Rajatarangini*, and refers to Phalguna as "conqueror of Rajapuri" in the reign of King Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72) of Kashmir¹¹. Raja Prithvipala was then its ruler. On minister Phalguna's demise Prithvipala seems to have asserted his independence, or as Kalhana asserts "showed then arrogance in consequence of Phalguna's decease." In great anger all the Kashmirian ministers started an expedition against him, in which two of them Sipatako and Hamsaraja were killed and Candra and others were entrapped. Prithvipala, the valiant king of Rajapuri, attacked the Kashmir force in a defile and destroyed it. Thereupon the Kashmir king sent his commander-in-chief Tunga against Rajapuri. He entered Rajapuri by another route and burnt it down entirely. By this diversion king Prithvipala was defeated and was helplessly forced to pay tribute to Tunga.¹²

Then for about a century the history of Rajapuri is a blank. Prithvipala seems to have died around 980 A.D., and Rajapuri does not find further mention till the middle of the reign of king Kalasa (1063-89 A.D.) of Kashmir. During this period some four to five kings may have ruled in Rajapuri but none of them finds mention in the *Rajatarangini*, probably for the reason that it was then a strong and independent state and the kingdom of Kashmir had become confined to the valley and had little intercourse with the Darvabhisara states. It was in the reign of king Sussala (1063-89) that the Kashmir minister Jinduraja, the Chief Commander of the forces, once again compelled Rajapuri and other regions to pay tribute¹³. At that time Sahajapala was the ruler of Rajapuri. Afterwards, we find repeated mention of this state and its Rajas in the Kashmir chronicles, upto the date of its close, about 1149 A.D. *Rajatarangini* is therefore the only reliable source of the history of Rajapuri for this period.

When king Sahajapala died, his minor son Samgramapala had been placed on the throne of Rajapuri. The child's uncle Madanpala, who possessed great power, exerted himself to usurp the throne. Afraid of his power, Samgramapala's sister and the Thakur Jassaraja took refuge with the Kashmiri king Kalasa (1063-89). The king received them favourably and gave them in

11. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Bk. vi, S. 286, 348 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, S. 350-353.

13. *Ibid.*, Bk. VII, S. 267.

support his commander Jayananda with Bijja and other warriors. Jayananda defeated Samgramapala's enemies, subdued the rebels, restored the child-king to his state, received presents, and then withdrew, leaving behind his troops under the pretext of ensuring security.¹⁴

Sometime after this Madanapala again invaded Rajapuri and king Kalasa sent his commander Bappata for Samgramapala's support. Madanapala was again defeated. Soon after this event, in 1087-88 A.D., Samgramapala of Rajapuri was present in an assembly of hill chiefs in the court of King Kalasa in which seven hill chiefs or their representatives took part including those of Vallapura (Balaor), Babbapura (Babaor), Campa (Chamba) and Kashthavata (Kashtwar). This gathering was probably necessitated in view of the danger of recurring Turushka invasions on these states by successors of Mahmud of Ghazani, and the event reveals closer association of the hill Rajas with Kashmir, either as tributaries or as weaker neighbours like Rajapuri, which seems to be an independent principality compelled now and then through military force to pay tribute to the Kashmiri king.

Within a year of this assembly Rajapuri had again asserted independence, and king Harsa who had succeeded to the throne of Kashmir in 1089 A.D., succeeded also in asserting his authority outside Kashmir. In this connection he sent an expedition against Rajapuri where king Samgramapala, "the proud lord of Rajapuri, became for some reason, disaffected. The king sent a force against Samgramapala which remained inactive for some time. The king then entrusted the expedition to Kandarpa, 'the lord of Gate', with reproaches. In great fury Kandarpa entered Rajapuri and slew a host of opponents and penetrated into the royal palace with 20 or 30 soldiers. His 300 foot soldiers killed a number of enemies. Rajapuri was captured after a hot contest in which two hundred Kashmirians fell, but of the Khasas, four hundred covered the ground¹⁷.

But the Khasas once again rallied in the evening and attacked Kandarpa who threw among them burning arrows. Most of the enemies caught fire and they fled in fright. Meanwhile another Kashmiri force arrived. "Kandarpa then took tribute

14. *Ibid.*, Bk. VII, S. 533, 539, 541 and 546.

15. *Ibid.* Bk VII, S. 589.

16. *Ibid.* S. 987.

17. *Ibid.* S. 967-79.

from the lord of Rajapuri, who paid homage and returned within a single month to his own country."¹⁸

Rajapuri is once again mentioned when Harsa (1089-1101) sent his treacherous general Dharmmata as envoy to Rajapuri when Harsa's rivals, Uccala and Sussala escaped from the valley the elder brother proceeded to Rajapuri. Harsa asked Samgramapala through his messenger to kill Uccala and offered him money for that. Kalasaraja, the chief Thakkura of Rajapuri was also bribed by Harsa, and he advised Samgramapala to give up the cause of Uccala and imprison in the fort. But Uccala's bravery held them back from such a course. Uccala then left for Lohara in order to invade Kashmir.¹⁹

Raja Samgramapala of Rajapuri died in about 1105 A.D. and his son Somapala by name, seems to have been seated on the throne, setting aside the claim of the elder brother, who was probably imprisoned. To intervene in Rajapuri's domestic affairs, king Uccala of Kashmir upheld the cause of the aggrieved party and became enraged against Rajapuri and seems to have moved force against the intriguers. But he converted his wrath/displeasure into a marriage alliance with Rajapuri house by giving the hand of his daughter, Saubhagyalekha, to Somapala²⁰. As a token of goodwill Somapala visited Sussala (1112-20) when the Kashmirian king led expedition against rebels in Lohara and imprisoned Sabhana and Lothana.

Meanwhile a family feud seems to have been brewing up in Rajapuri and Somapala put to death his elder step brother Pratapapala, whereas the youner Nagapala escaped and took shelter at Sussala's court (about 1118). At this Sussala was enraged and did not accept friendly overtures of Somapala. Sussala led an expedition against Rajapuri in 1118 A.D. As a counter-act Somapala had invited Sussala's rival Biksachara from Vallapura. But this action further enraged the Kashmirian king who arrived in great fury. Somapala fled and the king put Nagapala on the throne²¹. The king then stayed there for 7 months and received homage from various chiefs, But when in April (Vaisakh) 1119 A.D. Sussala returned to Kashmir Nagapala too followed him there having lost his throne. Somapala was welcomed by the people of Rajapuri who had given a cold shoulder to Sussala and his puppet

18. *Ibid.* Bk. VII. S. 980-991.

19. *Ibid.* S. 1017, 1150, 1256, 1293.

20. *Ibid.* S. 288-09, 1464-65.

21. *Ibid.* S. 619-624.

Nagapala, Somapala took revenge on Sussala by plundering Attalika (Atoli) a commercial centre in Lohara, a part of kingdom of Kasmir when Sussala was hemmed in by his enemies²², and burnt down the place. Meanwhile Sussal's soldiers revolted and his friends deserted him. So he was forced to flee from the valley and took shelter at Lohara. The chiefs raised Bhiksachara to the throne of Kashmir at the close of 1120 A.D.

The deposed king Sussala took refuge at Lohara. King Bhiksachara (A.D. 1120-21), sent an expedition against him under his own officer Bimba by the route of Rajapuri. It was "a coalition of Kashmirian, Khasa and Mleccha (mercenary Turuska) forces capable of uprooting everything." Raja Somapala led his own Khasa army. A battle fought near Parnotsa in which Sussala showed amazing valour so that Turuskas fled and Somapala retreated along with his army. Kashmirian army went over to Sussal, who entered Kashmir and was restored after Bhiksachara's interregnum of 6 months and 12 days (954). However Sompala gave Bhiksachara shelter in his territory where he gathered again power through his gifts and honours. With the help of Damara chief Prithvipala he invaded Kashmir, entered Madavarajya, devastated it, but was finally defeated by Sussala, and withdrew.

The king followed his victory, pursued Bhiksachara and his supporters, inflicted on them defeat after defeat, till the defeated enemy took shelter in the village of Kakurvaha in Samala where he and his supporters, the Lavanyas having lost their strength, thought of going abroad²³. Those who had espoused Bhiksachara's cause were spirited and deserted him. The Kashmirian king, Sussala, turned back with the thought that he would make burning-ground of Rajapuri after the melting of snow in retribution to deceitful conduct of Somapala²⁴. But his desire remained a pious wish as he himself was murdered in the month of February, 1128 and was succeeded by his son Jayasimha (1128-49 A.D.)

Sussala had been murdered by Lavanyas, the supporters of Bhiksachara, who presented the severed head of the victim to Bhiksachara, who on his part sent it to Somapala at Rajapuri. Somapala, on advice of his step-brother Nagapala, agreed to pay every honours to the head of his 'liege-lord'²⁵ and cremated it on wood of the black aloe and *Sandal*.

22. *Ibid.* S. 635 and 764.

23. *Ibid.*, Bk. VIII. V. 1268.

24. *Ibid.* V. 1270.

25. *Ibid.* Bk. VIII, V. 1469.

Somapala was on good terms with the new king of Kashmir with whom he concluded a treaty of friendship. He therefore, forsook Bhiksachara's cause. When Damaras found him lukewarm to the cause of their candidate they tried to intrigue with the ruler of Rajapuri and offered him the throne of Kashmir²⁶.

Somapala, however, seems not to have responded to their intrigue excepting by sending an envoy to them. Soon after the men of Bhiksachara were defeated in a battle at Damodara. Bhiksachara left Kashmir, but Somapala did not give him a refuge in his dominion²⁷.

The treaty of friendship was further strengthened by matrimonial alliance between the ruling houses of Kashmir and Rajapuri. Somapala married king Jayasimha's daughter Ambaputrika, whereas Somapala's sister's daughter Nagalekha became the king's bride²⁸. On the other side, a great and influential chief of Kashmir, named Sujji and a few others joined hands with Bhiksachara in his designs on Kashmir. Such a combination could be harmful even for Somapala who had deserted Bhiksachara's cause. So he dissuaded Sujji from joining forces with Bhiksachara, and the latter was finally killed at Banasala (Banihal) after being betrayed by the Khasa chief of that place,, by the Commander-in-chief of Kashmirian forces.²⁹

Meanwhile there was a conspiracy in Lohara and the imprisoned chief Lothana was freed and enthroned there. King Jaysimha sent his Chamberlain Lakshmaka against him. The greedy Somapala, forgetting his relationship with the king, intrigued with Sujji on promise of money, and to create trouble for Kashmir army. Lothana promised to pay him money. They sowed dissension in the Kashmir army which started retreating from Lohara. By a night attack Sujji captured Lakshmaka whom he delivered to Somapala who 'thought that he had secured Kashmir and turned to his country'³⁰ forgetting his allies. The Kashmirian king, however, equipped a powerful army against Lohara, meanwhile the king ransomed the old Lakshmaka for thirty-six lakhs. Finally, Lohara was retaken by Kashmirian king in 1132 A.D.

By this time Somapala's son had grown of age and probably he threw a challenge to his father's authority which led to a prolonged civil war. As Kalhana informs us that Somapala, who was trouble-

26. *Ibid.* VS. 1490-91.

27. *Ibid.* V. 1529.

28. *Ibid.* V. 1649.

29. *Ibid.* VV. 1702-67.

30. *Ibid.* V. 1900.

ed by his son Bhupala and afflicted by the miseries of long contest for the throne came at that time to the king for protection³¹. The ruler of Rajapuri gave two sons of Nagapala' as hostages and the Kashmirian king promised him safety overlooking his former offences gave him his own troops and restored him to (the throne of Rajapuri), power. But Somapala does not seem to have been sincere to his professions of loyalty, and when king's rivals were preparing for an invasion, he did not pay any heed to the affair, although his son Bhupala, in order to propitiate the king, induced the various Thakkura's of Rajapuri to plunder Kothaka as he reached their respective territories³² on way to Kashmir. Afterwards we do not know what part father and son played in Kashmir affairs, and Kalhana makes the last reference to Bhupala at the very close of his chronicle and informs us that the proud queen Raddadevi of Jayasimha (1128-49 A.D.) raised king Bhupala to high honour by giving to him the princess Manila, eldest daughter of Jayasimha, in marriage³³. This probably took place in about 1148-49 A.D., and sometime earlier Bhupala seems to have succeeded his father to the throne of Rajapuri.

Kalhana finds many evils in Soma Pala. He accuses him of greed almost amounting to avarice, unfaithfulness in the fulfilment of his engagements, and ingratitude for kindness. He also has nothing but condemnation for the whole population of Rajapuri, whose deceitfulness seems almost to have been proverbial.³⁴ Only the Darads surpassed them, he states, in that 'bad quality'.

Jayasimha of Kashmir who died in A.D. 1154, was followed by a succession of weak and worthless kings so that the greatness of Kashmir soon became a thing of the past and its kingdom seems to have shrunk to the valley only. The Hill states, including Rajapuri threw off its suzerainty and became independent. Consequently, references to them after this period are few in the *Rajataranginis* of Jonaraja and other writers.

Raja Bhu Pala succeeded to the throne of Rajapuri somewhere between A.D. 1145 and 1149, but nothing much is known about his reign. Probably he cultivated good relations with Kashmir and we find no mention of war between the two states. We find several casual references to Rajapuri in later chronicles but without any

31. *Ibid.* V. 2215.

32. *Ibid.*, V. 2223.

33. *Ibid.*, V. 3394.

34. *Rajat.*, Bk. VIII, V. 1531.

details. The last reference occurs in the reign of Ghazi Shah, about A.D. 1560.

Jonaraja mentions that Samgramadeva (A.D. 1236-52) of Kashmir fled "to the peaceful king of Rajapuri" when rebellion led by the Damaras broke out. He seems to have been pursued and a battle was fought near Rajapuri in which the rebels were defeated, and thus Samgramadeva regained his kingdom, doubtless with the help of his ally.

In A.D. 1339, the Hindu line of Rajas of Kashmir came to an end and an adventurer named Shah Mir, the former Raja's minister seized the throne. After him succeeded a line of Muhammadan kings. One of these was Ali Shah who entrusted the management of state affairs to his younger brother Shahi Khan and himself set out on pilgrimage. He was dissuaded by the Raja of Jammu from carrying out his purpose, and advised him to return to Kashmir and resume his position as ruler. The Rajas of Jammu and Rajapuri gathered an army to reinstate him. Shahi Khan was compelled to flee and took shelter with a chief named Jasrath Khokhar of Mangla-Bhimbar Hills. The *Rajatarangini* of Srivara tells us that "Ali Shah was angry with Jasrath Khokhar for giving refuge to his rebellious brother and marched against him. It appears that on this occasion the Raja of Rajapuri sided with Shahi Khan, for on his arrival in Rajapuri territory Ali Shah laid it waste instead of protecting it. At the same time he committed the military mistake, disregarding the advice of the Raja of Jammu, probably Hamir (or Bhim) Dev (A.D. 1400-1423), of attacking the enemy which was strongly entrenched at Thanna where a battle took place and the already tired Kashmirian army was routed and 'Ali Shah fled precipitately into Kashmir and disappeared. Shahi Khan was then installed in his stead as Sultan Zainul-Abidin and reigned for fifty-two years. He was one of the most famous of the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, and it was towards the middle of his reign that an alliance took place with Rajapuri which ultimately resulted in the accession of a Muslim dynasty. Rajapuri seems to have been tributary to Kashmir and its Rajas received the symbols of royalty from the Kashmirian kings. Before Zainul-Abidin, we are told, Jayasimha was installed as Raja and received charge of "the beautiful kingdom of Rajapuri". Probably Sundra-sena, the next Raja mentioned and one of the last of the line, was Jaya-Simha's grandson and his accession may be fixed at about A.D. 1450. The practice had then begun of tributary Hindu chiefs sending a daughter to the harm of the lord-paramount, and it is

related that Sundra-sen sent his elder daughter Rajya Devi, to Sultan Zainul-Abidin. On her arrival in Kashmir, the king was engaged in sport on the Woollar Lake and seeing the lady's party coming he asked one of his attendants the question: 'What mother's doli is that?' On hearing that it was the Rajauri princess sent to him he said: 'As I have already called her 'mother' how can I receive her as a wife'. She was therefore sent to the harem where she afterwards became a Muhammadan and the Rajawir or Rajauri Kadal a bridge over Mar Canal in Srinagar was built by her³⁵. Sundra-sen then sent his second daughter also to the king. Her name was Sundera Devi and people called her Sundermaji. She bore a son named Adham Khan. As Adham Khan was not on good terms with his father and his brother Haidar Khan, the king appointed him governor of the outer hills including Punch and Rajapuri. On the death of his father he claimed the throne but was defeated and he came to Jammu and induced the Raja to support his claim on throne of Kashmir against his brother Haidar Khan but he was shortly afterwards killed in A.D. 1472 in a skirmish with a party of Mughal (Mongols) while fighting on the side of the Raja of Jammu. His elder son Fateh Khan became king of Kashmir at a later stage and by his aid Nur Shah, or Nil Sih, grandson of Sikandar Khan, son of Fateh Khan, obtained possession of Rajapuri by conquering the country and marrying the Raja's daughter. The Raja referred to must have been son or grandson of Sunder-sen and his date is about A.D. 1500. From this time onwards Rajapuri was ruled by a succession of Muhammadan chiefs, each bearing a Hindu name in addition to his own proper name.

The foregoing narration is based on A. Cunningham's observations which substantially differ from the local account recorded in the vernacular history of the Rajas of Rajawar (Rajapuri). There we are told that the family was descended from Jira Pal, younger brother of Jhat Pal, the founder of Nurpur state and was ruling at Kalanaur about 1193-94 when Muhammad Ghor invaded the Punjab. The Raja named Sahib Singh was won over and embraced Islam along with his son Nil Singh, receiving the names respectively of Sher Afghun Khan and Nurud-din Khan. Soon after they moved into the outer hills and conquered Rajapuri from the Pala dynasty previously in possession, and gave Rajapuri a new line of rulers.

35. *HPHS.*, Vol. II, p. 680.

However, there are several points in the vernacular narration which are not in agreement with historical facts. The *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja, Srivara and others assert that there were Hindu Rajas of Rajapuri down to a much later date than Muhammad Ghor's invasion. Jahangir's Memoirs too informs us that the family was converted in the days of Firoz Shah Tughluq (A.D. 1356-88). It is noteworthy that the names of Rajas given in the vernacular history, viz., Sher Afghun and Nur Shah or Nil Sinh, are the same as those given by Sir A. Cunningham³⁶, who are recorded to have ruled about A.D. 1500 and in both accounts Nur Shah or Nil Sinh, is said to have been the first Muslim Raja of Rajapuri. The authors of the *History of the Punjab Hill States*, doubt the credibility of Cunningham's version, making the Muhammadan dynasty date from about A.D. 1500. There were, they point out, thirteen Rajas in succession from Nur Shah or Nil Sinh, to Tajud-din Khan who died in A.D. 1646, and was a contemporary of Shahjahan, giving an average of only eleven years, which is much below the average of most of the other Hill States. Even in the succession of Rajapuri Rajas after Tajud-din the average comes to twenty-five years for eight rulers. It can therefore, be concluded that the change of dynasty took place in the time of Firoze Shah, as stated by Jahangir³⁷.

The first member of the Muhammadanized dynasty as stated earlier, to acquire ruling power was Nur Shah, also called Nil Sinh, whose full name was Nurud-din Khan. He probably had a short reign, and a good many of his successors also ruled for short tenures. Details of his career are not known. On his death he was succeeded by his son Bahaud-din Khan, also called Bhag Sinh or Sih. He extended the boundaries of the state probably towards the south and raised some fine buildings in the capital. He was followed by his son Anwar Khan, also called Awardan Sinh.

Anwar Khan was fond of sport and constantly indulged in this amusement. In order to free himself for his favourite pastime he appointed one brother commander-in-chief of his army and the other to the administration of the state, and this arrangement continued for several years. At the end of his reign he realised that his brothers might not be willing to part with the power which they had so long exercised and that the army and the state officials might

36. *Archaeological Survey Reports* Vol. XIV, p. 106 ff.
37. *HPHS*. Vol. II, p. 682,

not be ready to accept his son as their ruler, he summoned all of them to his presence. He then appointed his son Haibat Khan or Haibat Singh as his successor by applying the *tika* to his forehead in saffron and ordered all present to offer him their *nazar* (tribute) as was customary on such occasions. He then placed the hand of his son in the hands of his brothers and extracted promise from them that they would be loyal and faithful to him. This promise was faithfully kept during the minority of the Raja and when he became of age he took over administration. His reign seems to have been uneventful. His son Sirdar Khan or Ratan Singh succeeded him. He was exceedingly lethargic and quite indifferent to state affairs. The rulers of the neighbouring states took advantage of his inertia, invaded his territory on all sides and much of it was lost. He was succeeded by his only son Shahsawar Khan or Sansar Singh who was a brave ruler and more active than his father, and under him most of the lost territory was recovered. He was fond of sport and particularly delighted in pursuit of big game. His successor Daulat Khan or Daulat Singh was also warlike and most of his life was spent in field. He made frequent raids on the adjoining states and also repelled raids on his territory. By his incessant military activity he recovered all the remaining territories of the state that had been lost.

The next ruler was Shah Zaman Khan or Chak Singh, who had three sons. To the younger two sons he assigned separate *jagir* and bestowed on them the title of 'Rai' which their descendants held uptill recently. In his reign the state was required to provide a contingent to aid Kashmir in the invasion of Baltistan or Little Tibet and a force was sent under the command of the heir-apparent Shahabud-din Khan. After the conquest of that country the commander of the Kashmir army named Raj Makari rebelled and a force had to be sent against him to bring him back to obedience, in which the Rajapuri contingent was also present. Ferishta tells us that this invasion took place in the reign of Sikandar Butshikan of Kashmir (A. D. 1396-1416).

Shahabud-din had an uneventful reign. But he added to the state revenue by breaking up new land and bringing it under cultivation. He was succeeded by his son Bahram Khan, also called Bahram Singh. He was much enamoured of his ancestral sport of hunting and spent much time on this pursuit at the neglect of state affairs. He also wasted much money on the purchase of hunting dogs and enjoyment of his favourite pastime, and those officers were held in highest regard who catered to his favourite sport. He had two sons, of whom the eldest, Burhan-ud-din or Bairam Singh,

succeeded him. He was very much unlike his father, for he led an inert life and was averse to all kinds of exertion. He had two sons at advanced age with the result that when he felt his end drawing near they were just minors. He therefore called to his presence all his officers and in their presence appointed his elder son Ali Khan as his successor and conferred on him the symbols of royalty.

Ali Khan was only ten years of age when his father died and the administration of state affairs was left to his officials. As he grew up the Raja 'developed a religious and contemplative disposition' and this tendency in him grew so strong that he lost all interest in worldly affairs and finally abdicated in favour of his brother, Bahadur Khan and became a *faqir*. Bahadur Khan, also called Bahadur Sinh, was quite young at that time yet he was possessed of capacity for activity and understanding of state affairs. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, named Mast or Sarmast Khan succeeded to the *gaddi* of Rajapuri in about A. D. 1580, and he is said to be contemporary of Akbar. Kashmir was at that time independent under its own rulers. But in 1585 Akbar sent an army to conquer the valley but the expedition was a failure and the army had to retreat. In the following year a second force was despatched under Muhammad Qasim Khan. Sarmast Khan was written to render assistance to the Mughal commander in return for which he was promised a suitable reward. The Rajapuri Chief agreed and he went forward to meet the Mughal commander who gave him a becoming reception.

The advance on Kashmir was then made through Rajauri and across the Pir Panjal Pass, and supplies and transport was provided by the Raja who himself accompanied the Mughal army with his contingent. The usual road into the Valley was blocked by the Kashmir forces near a place called Darhat. The Raja, however, knew of another way by the Nandansir which was less frequented and left unguarded. On hearing of unchecked advance of Mughal armies into the Valley the Kashmiri force abandoned their first position and left the road open. The Mughals therefore crossed the mountains by the two passes and reunited on the slopes and fell upon Shupeyon where the Kashmiri forces opposed them for three days and a severe fighting took place. But the Kashmiris were outmanoeuvred and were defeated. The Mughals occupied the capital and subdued the Valley. The Raja of Rajauri was then honoured with a *khilat* and a reward of a *jagir* of Rs. 50,000 value in Kashmir was conferred on him which his successors continued to hold in whole or in part till the extinction of that State.

Akbar visited Kashmir in person in A. D. 1589, and the Raja met him on the borders of his State with suitable presents and was favourably received, "Observing that the ruler though a Muhammadan, bore the title of Raja, the emperor remarked that it should be exchanged for 'Nawab'. The Raja replied that the title of *Nawab* was unknown in the hills and begged to be allowed to retain the old title. This was granted but an order was given that all the members of the ruling family under the Raja should be addressed as "*Mirza*" and the custom remained in force in the Rajauri family till recently. Akbar is said to have visited Kashmir many a times after this and always through Rajauri, and a fort was built at Naushehra for a Mughal garrison to guard the Kashmir road. Rajauri State at that time seems to have been very extensive, bordering on the Pir Panjal in the north to the borders of Bimbar on the south. On the east it touched the Chenab and Punch territory in the west.

Sarmast Khan seems to have been succeeded by Tajud-din Khan or Chatar Singh, who ruled about A. D. 1600 and his reign was contemporary with that of Jahangir, who visited Rajauri several times on way to and from Kashmir. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* makes an interesting reference to the State in A. D. 1620, but unfortunately the name of the Raja at that time has not been mentioned. The reference is as under ;

"On Friday, the 8th (A. D. 1620) Rajaur was the camping ground. The people of this country were in old times, Hindus and the landholders are called Rajas. Sultan Firoz made them Muhammadans, but they are still called Rajas. They still have the marks of the times of ignorance. One of these is that just as some Hindu women burn themselves along with their husbands, so these women are put into the grave along with their (dead) husbands. I heard that recently they put into the grave a girl of ten or twelve along with her (dead) husband who was of the same age. Also when a daughter was born to a man without means they put her to death by strangulation. They ally themselves with Hindu and both give and take girls. Taking them is good but giving them, God forbid. I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such thing, and whoever was guilty of them should be capitally punished³⁸," Jahangir also points out that the water of river of Rajaur becomes so contaminated during the rainy season that many of people who use it get a swelling under the throat and grow

38. Rogers, A. (tr.) *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir*, London, 1914, Vol. II, po. 180 f.

yellow and weak. He further informs us that "The rice of Rajaur is much better than the rice of Kashmir. There are self-grown and sweet-scented violets in this skirt of the hills."

Jahangir evidently did not like the people of Rajaur and he considered them barbarous in their habits. He entrusted the responsibility of guarding the road to Kashmir within his territory and ordered him to construct *chaukies* and post guard all along the route. A fort was therefore raised at Naushehra and placed in charge of his grandson Inayatullah Khan who afterwards became the ruler of Rajauri in A. D. 1648. Soon after, Tajud-din Khan was ordered to provide a contingent for an expedition to Baltistan or Little Tibet, which was placed under the command of Inayatullah Khan.

In A. D. 1644 Shah Jahan visited Kashmir, accompanied by Prince Aurangzeb. He passed through Rajauri and made a halt there in order that Raja's daughter Rajbai might be married to the young prince. The son born to her was named Mu'azam, who afterwards became emperor of Delhi under the title Bahadur Shah, after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. Raja Tajud-din Khan died in A.D. 1646 and was succeeded to the rulership by his son Hayatullah Khan who reigned for only two years.

INAYATULLAH KHAN, 1648-1660

Inayatullah Khan was grandson of Raja Tajuddin Khan alias Chatar Singh. The new Raja was an ambitious ruler and was a great favourite with the Mughal emperors, and seems to have emulated that court on a small scale. In the life time of his grandfather and father he had served as commander and governor of the fort and territory of Naushehra and took a good care of the imperial route in that quarter. On his accession to the *gaddi* in 1648 he appointed his son, Hidayatullah Khan as commander of Naushehra, with the responsibility of guarding the road into Kashmir. He was now free to organise the state affairs according to his ideals. He divided his army into two sections: first a sort of standing army always on duty and receiving monthly remuneration, and second, the reserves which consisted of privates living in their homes but liable to be called up at the hour of need. Such an organisation gave him a little edge on those of his rivals with whom he was usually at war, a frequent occurrence of those days. He seems to have asserted his authority on neighbouring principalities and *talluqas* and in that effort he developed a quarrel with Raja of Jammu, probably 'Bhupat Jamwal' who ruled from about 1627 to

1656, or Hari Dev who succeeded him in 1656, on the question of the possession of the district of Bhimbar to which Jammu State preferred a claim. As the disputed district then formed a part of Rajauri, it led to a battle between the two Rajas, in which Rajauri forces were defeated. But Inayatullah Khan sent a large force which not only routed Jammu forces but followed the retreated army and attacked and captured Jammu town. On retiring some bricks from the Mandi or palace were carried "and built into the *Diwankhana* in Rajauri, and there they remained till 1845, when they were restored to their original place in Jammu by Raja Gulab Singh on the conquest of Rajauri."³⁹

Inayatullah played some role in the Mughal war of succession in 1657. He being closely related to Aurangzeb, did not respond to Dara Shikoh's call of help which he gave to the Hill Chiefs after his defeat and flight to Lahore. But he finally joined Aurangzeb when he entered the Punjab, and remained in his camp till the end of war. He was then dismissed with presents and *khilats*. Aurangzeb is said to have conferred on Inayatullah Khan Punch, Semlah, Manawar. Khari-Khariyali and Bhimbar in *Jagir*. He also confirmed the *sanad* granted by Akbar conferring a *jagir* on the family in Kashmir valley. As all "these territories were then ruled by their own Rajas, the grants were probably only the paramountcy or superiority over these states."⁴⁰ Inayatullah Khan seems to have engaged Mughal architects and skilled workmen and erected his palace complex at Rajauri and forts of Inderkot and Manawar. He also laid out a garden called Shalimar on the other side of the Tohi stream.

AZMATULLAH KHAN (1683-1753)

Raja Inayatullah Khan was succeeded by his son, Hidayatullah Khan in about 1660. The new Raja was indolent and indifferent about state affairs. In his later days he left the administration to his brother Rafi-ullah Khan. His long reign was uneventful and through Mughal influence he could maintain his state in tact. On his death in 1683, his three-year-old son Azmatullah Khan became Raja, and the administration of the state remained in the hands of his uncle Rafiullah Khan, under the regency of the queen-mother. The *wazir* of the state was one Mehta Ajab Singh since the days of Inayatullah Khan. Rafiullah Khan took away all powers from him

39. *H P H S*, Vol. II, p. 687.

40. *Ibid.*

and Mehta was angry with the new administrator who had made him powerless and insignificant. In order to regain his former position he plotted to undermine the position of his rival by instilling suspicion into the mind of the queen-mother against the commander-in-chief cum administrator in which he was successful. The queen-mother restored him to full power. This engeraged the uncle who now began to plot to do away with the minor Raja and queen-mother. The secret was leaked to the queen-mother by Rafiullah Khan's wife, and the former arranged to convey the boy-Raja out of the state to Delhi, in charge of the *wazir*. There he lived under the care of the Rajauri princess Raj Banu (Raj Mahal Begam) married to Aurangzeb. The princess made proper arrangements for the education and training of the Raja who grew up in the imperial palace like a royal prince. Mehta Ajab Singh remained there as his guardian. On learning of the Raja's escape Rabiullah Khan assumed full powers and became its de-fecto ruler. He raised his nephew Lutfullah Khan to the office of *Wazir*. He recruited an army of 500 well-mounted men with a special uniform, and with their aid he led raids into the surrounding principalities and even into the southern plains and tried to make his power felt by spreading terror.

When Raja Azmatullah Khan attained majority he expressed his desire to return to his state. The emperor wrote to Rafiullah Khan in order to ascertain his reaction and found that he was willing to welcome the Raja back to Rajauri and hand over every thing to him. Thereupon the Raja was dismissed with presents and honours to his state, escorted by a small imperial force. On his arrival at Rajauri he was welcomed by the officials and people. Rafiullah had retired to his estate before his arrival and hence the come back was peaceful. The Rajauri family records show that Aurangzeb had bestowed on the Raja at the time of his departure from Delhi, five elephants, one hundred horses of Yarkand breed, a cash of eleven thousand one hundred and one rupees, some jewellery, gold brocaded clothes, *pushmina* and *zari doshalas*, in addition to precious gifts from his aunt, queen Raj Mahal Begam.⁴¹

Soon after, Aurangzeb died in 1707 and civil war broke out between his two sons Mu'azim Shah and Azam Shah for the Mughal throne in which Azmatullah Khan took the side of the former. Azam Shah was killed and Mu'azim Shah succeeded to the Mughal throne. In return for Azmatullah Khan's services the new

41. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, pp. 375-75.

emperor dismissed him with precious *khilat* and presents of elephants, horses and jewels and *pattas* of the *parganas* of Punch, Bhimbar and territories of Sahala, Jalalpur and *talluqa* Baradah Dharat in *jagir*.⁴² It is said that the annual income of Rajauri State at that time amounted to three *lakh* rupees in addition to tributes from the *jagirs* of Bhimbar, Punch, Jalalpur and other territories. The *Tarikh-i-Rajawar* gives the following figures⁴³ of revenue during Azmatullah Khan's reign :

Rajaur	Rs. 2, 77, 799·00
Bhimbar	Rs. 33, 000·00
Punch	Rs. 33, 000·00
Sahala Jalalpur and Barada	Rs. 20, 000·00
Jagir in Kashmir	Rs. 50, 000·00

4,13,799·00

Traditionally the annual income of Rajauri was placed at rupees four lakhs and thirty six thousand. Thus Rajauri at that time must have been a powerful and extensive principality, as there existed till recently in possession of the ruling family *sanads* from the Mughal Emperors granting them *jagirs* of Khari-Khariali, Bhimbar and Punch and several other territories.

Under the care of Raja Azmatullah Khan Rajauri State made progress by leaps and bounds and in a very short time it became one of the premier Hill states due to close relationship of its ruling family with the Mughal Emperor. On his return from Delhi Raja Azmatullah Khan brought in his retinue a number of scholars, craftsmen and administrators from the Delhi court who organised the administration of the State, both in civil and revenue affairs and legal procedure, on the model of the imperial government, separate departments were set up, a hurried settlement of land revenue was carried out, military posts were established on high ways, export and import duties were levied on all type of trade goods, revenue officers and treasurers were appointed to take care of government collections, and a fine court was constructed consisting of *Darbar-i-Khas* and *Darbar-i-Am*. He also raised a strong fort at Bhimbar and another at Manawar on the frontier towards the Punjab. The capital town of Rajauri was also fortified, which, it is said, was blown up by cannon fire by Ranjit Singh when Raja

42. *Ibid.*

43. Jaral, Mirza Zafarullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Rajawar*,

Agharullah Khan of Rajauri created hinderances in the Sikh invasion of Kashmir. During the later part of his life Raja Azmatullah Khan suffered from insanity on account of addiction to wine and sensuousness. He gave himself up to the company of dancing girls and harlots and the state affairs were left to the incompetent and oppressive officers with the result that administration fell into confusion, law and order deteriorated and the earlier awe disappeared, control over subject principalities and territories was lost. The Chibs, the original rulers of Bhimbar, regained independence. Jammu reoccupied Manawar and Punch, Jalalpur, Sahala and other territories of the Chibhal threw away the yoke of Raja Azmatullah's superiority. Thus the grandeur of Rajauri court took to wings and the state headed towards downfall in his very life time.

Azmatullah Khan had a long reign and he saw the decline of the Mughal empire, and the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752. Like other Hill States, Rajauri also passed under Afghan control and being co-religionist the Rajauri rulers contracted very cordial relations with their new suzerains. In 1752 while the agreement for cession of the Punjab to the Durani was under consideration of the Mughal Court, Ahmad Shah Durrani asked the Mughal governor of Kashmir to surrender the provinces to him which the latter refused, and Ahmad Shah was compelled to send an expedition against him and asked Azmatullah Khan to contribute his contingent which he did to the number of 2,000 men under the command of his son, Rehmatullah Khan. On the successful termination of the campaign the young prince fell seriously ill and died in Kashmir. This proved a fatal blow to the aged Raja who was then in his eighty second year. He died in September, 1753 after ruling for sixty-two years.

Raja Azmatullah Khan had nine sons. Raja Izzatullah Khan, son of Rehmatullah Khan, succeeded his grandfather on the *gaddi* of Rajauri. He suddenly died only after a rule of five years. The other sons of Azmatullah Khan had received *jagirs* on which they and their descendants settled.

RAJA KARAMULLAH KHAN, 1765-1808.

Raja Izzatullah Khan died issueless therefore his third brother, Karamullah Khan was declared successor to the *gaddi*. As told earlier the administration of Rajauri had weakened during the later years of Azmatullah Khan, and the neighbouring states had encroached on the territory of Rajauri. The new Raja sought to recover the lost

territories and to restore his state to its former grandeur. He therefore, reorganised the army and strengthened it by additional levies. It took him several years before he could embark on his ambitious plan of reconquering the territories lost to Punch, Bhimber and Jammu. He simultaneously invaded all these three states by separate armies, which returned unsuccessful. He then decided to invade these states one by one but before he could do so he became involved in a quarrel with the Durrani governor of Kashmir which lasted for seven years. During this period he got a favourable opportunity of occupying Punch when its ruler died childless without any direct heir and the *Wazir* of the state invited Karamullah Khan to send his son, Agharullah Khan, to take possession of Punch. This was easily done and the prince was installed as Raja there. However, the pro-Rajauri *Wazir* died soon afterwards and the Agharullah Khan was driven out and a member of the Punch family was duly installed. Meanwhite the differences with Kashmir continued. As stated earlier Rajauri had passed under the suzerainty of the Durrani on cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752 and it was immediately subject to the governor of Kashmir. The Raja of Rajauri disputed the control of the Durrani governor over his state for some time which bred differences which were further accentuated by the demand from governor for a Rajauri princess in marriage. This was refused and an invasion of Rajauri followed, but was repulsed. The governor sent a larger army the next year which laid siege to Rajauri but it was so strongly fortified that the siege was lifted on the approach of winter. Finally, the governor thought it prudent to make peace with the Rajauri ruler to which the latter agreed. The Raja was cordially invited to visit Kashmir which did under deep suspicions to his life, but was warmly received and entertained by the governor and was allowed to return to Rajauri in safety. Afterwards cordial relations with Durrani continued. Karamullah Khan was on good terms with Maharaja Ranjit Dev whose suzerainty he seems to have accepted at least after Ahmad Shah Durrani's death in 1773 when the Raja of Jammu was left supreme in these Hills. The later years of Karamullah Khan's reign were uneventful and the state had declined in importance owing to the loss of territories and the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Dev to prominence in the Hills and subsequently of the Sikh power in the Punjab plains. He died in 1808.

RAJA AGARULLAH KHAN, 1808-1820 A.D.

Karamullah Khan had four sons, of whom Agarullah Khan,

born of a Hindu mother, was the eldest, The second son named Rahimullah Khan was born of a Muslim mother. For that reason the officials and people of Rajauri were in favour of the second son, but on being approached he declined the offer of *gaddi* while his elder brother was alive. Agarullah Khan was therefore installed as Raja. These circumstances bred some suspicion in the mind of the Raja about his younger brother. Rahimullah Khan had been given a *jagir* of ten thousand rupees. There he constructed his residence and named it Azim Garh and settled there. However, Raja's suspicions were accentuated by subsequent events and these turned into mutual enmity. In order to get rid of his brother Raja Agarullah Khan sent him to Kashmir as state agent, and secretly wrote to the governor that he should not be followed to return, The governor subjected him to a measure of restraint by having a guard always in attendance upon him. But after some time he escaped from the valley and returned to his *jagir* and took his residence at Azimgarh.

Meanwhile Maharaja Ranjit Singh started feeling his way towards the Hill states to the west of the Chenab which had till then remained safe from Sikh occupation because of difficult terrain and their subjection to the Durrani who held Kashmir firmly, The territories of western Punjab including those of Multan, Hazara, Peshawar, Derajat, and Kashmir still maintained their connection with Kabul. Kashmir was held by a Durrani governor and the Muslim rulers of the outer hills states were more or less under their protection. The Sikh *misaldars* had therefore not been able to establish their authority over these principalities. But with Ranjit Singh's coming to power circumstances changed for these states. By 1810 he had fully established his rule in the plains from the Satluj to the Indus and cast his covetous eyes on the adjoining provinces of Kashmir, Hazara and Peshawar, the former being a special attraction for him. Since Rajauri and Bhimbar lay on the road to Kashmir, these states were bound to come in conflict with Ranjit Singh, for their own safety as well as for the existence of the rule of their own co-religionists over that country. Ranjit Singh soon realised that the subjection of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Punch was a necessary preliminary to the conquest of the Kashmir Valley and maintenance of hold on it. The first attempt in this direction was made by Ranjit Singh in 1810 when a force of 5,000 horseman was sent against these Hill states, But it could achieve nothing due to stubborn resistance offered by the Bhimbar Chief and Sikhs failed to penetrate the

Hills. But the next attempt made in 1812, was attended with success and the Chief of Bhimbar was subdued after a tough resistance and tribute was extracted from Rajauri. The chiefs, however, rebelled soon after, and strong force had to be sent against them and they were again defeated. Failing in open armed conflict these Hill Chiefs took to treachery and started hampering Sikh advance on Kashmir. In 1812 Ranjit Singh sent his armies the first time to conquer Kashmir and invited Raja Agarullah Khan of Rajauri to cooperate assuring him of friendly relations and disavowing any design against the state. The Raja promised help but the expedition was unsuccessful. A second expedition in 1813 also met the same fate. The Sikhs set up earnest preparations for another expedition on Kashmir this time. Ranjit Singh personally accompanying the army of the invasion. In June 1814 he advanced into the Hills and reached Rajauri on the eleventh. An attempt was made to gain Ruhullah Khan, Raja of Punch to the Sikh cause, but he pleaded engagements with Kashmir and the presence of his son as hostage with Azim Khan, the governor. However. Raja Agarullah Khan of Rajauri, on being asked, agreed to assist the Sikhs in the campaign and even rendered considerable assistance in the early stages of the campaign. With his acquiescence the principal officers determined that the main army, commanded by Ranjit in person, should pursue the Punch route and endeavour to penerate by Toshu Maidan Pass, while a strong diversion was made by Bahramgulla towards Supayan in the valley⁴⁴. The Rajauri Chief, however, changed his intention on being approached by the governor of Kashmir through a messenger and a letter, earnestly entreating him to be faithful to his religion. He was won over and secretly did all in his power to retard the advance and harass the Sikhs, by sending out his men in the dress of peasants to cut off stragglers and supplies and create a panic⁴⁵. So the expedition miserably failed. The rainy season had set in. The Sikhs found it difficult to bear the cold of the Hills and to withstand the forays of the Afghans with a treacherous enemy in the rear. The Sikhs were thrown in disorder and while retreating they lost many superior officers and a large number of men perished and all the baggage was lost. On Agarullah Khan's advice the Sikh army had been so divided that they could not combine while entering the Valley and reinforce Diwan

44. Anon., *History of the Panjab*, Vol. II, p. 24.

45. *HPH.S.*, Vol. II, p. 691.

Ram Dayal who had contacted the Afghan army. The Afghan governor annihilated the Diwan's force and surrounded the remaining Sikh forces in the defiles of the Pir Panjal. The *zamindars* of the country got wind of the situation and rushed from all sides and did their best to cut off the roads. The forces were driven to great extremities on account of the ruggedness of hills, thickness of thistles and loss of path.⁴⁶ Gulab Singh rendered valuable service at this juncture. He exhibited exceptional mastery of the situation and his gallantry turned a likely rout to a graceful retreat. Gulab Singh's brave sallies defeated and scattered the marauding Khasalis. It is even said that Ranjit Singh himself escaped with difficulty and precipitately fled towards Lahore accompanied only by a few followers.

All the Sikh officers represented that the disaster was due to the double part played by Agarullah Khan. A large force was therefore sent against him in 1815 to punish the Raja. Rajauri was besieged and its fortifications were battered down with gunfire. The Raja escaped and fled towards Kotli. The capital was plundered and the country around was laid waste and abandoned and the invading armies withdrew with loot. Agarullah Khan came back to his capital and found the fortifications irreparable and defenceless.

Before equipping another expedition for Kashmir expeditious and comprehensive preparations were made. In order to avoid repetition of previous bitter experience the disposal of Rajauri was very necessary, as Agarullah Khan had not submitted and could retaliate at some critical moment. Ranjit Singh therefore thought of making use of the Rajauri family dispute and sent a messenger to Agarullah Khan's younger brother, Rahimullah Khan with the offer of chiefship of Rajauri, if 'he undertook to be loyal to the Sikh cause and give every assistance in the coming campaign. He was told that failing this the state would be overturned and annexed.'⁴⁷ Mirza Rahimullah Khan accepted the proposal and met Ranjit Singh at Wazirabad camp and was there installed as Raja of Rajauri and given leave to return. Meanwhile necessary military preparations had been made and Sikhs were finally ready to strike which they did in April 1819 when their armies moved into the Hills and occupied Rajauri and Punch. Rahimullah Khan joined the Sikhs. The Raja of Punch and Agarullah Khan were on the

46. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulabnama* : Eng. tr., p. 66.

47. *HPHS*, vol. II, p. 692.

side of Afghans. They held all passes and approaches to the Valley across the Pir Panjal. Rahimullah Khan, however, disclosed to the Sikhs routes into the valley which were still open through which Sikh forces advanced into Kashmir and the Afghans were driven back and defeated. Kashmir was then occupied and annexed and became a province of Ranjit Singh's Kingdom under a Sikh governor. For the services rendered in this conquest Rahimullah Khan was suitably rewarded and afterwards a *jagir* was granted him in Kashmir.

Left without a protege Agarullah Khan fled into the Hills of Budhil and Khasali. But the chiefs there refused to give him shelter, he therefore hid himself in Nar, *jagir* of Zabardast Khan Ferujal. Gulab Singh had been deputed to stamp out Agarullah Khan's rebellion who moved into those Hills with a contingent of his brave men and compelled the *jagirdar* to surrender him. Gulab Singh captured him in the spring of 1820 and sent him to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825.⁴⁸

William Moorcroft visited Rajaori in 1823 and he recorded the following observations on the town and its rulers. "The town of Rajaor formed the limit of our next day's march; there was nothing on the road particularly worthy of note. From the same spot the whole range of Ratan Panchal was in sight, and the peaks to the eastwards, where they seemed to unite with those of the Pir Panchal, were much loftier than those near where we had crossed, and were tipped with snow. At Rajaor we were detained four days by Mr. Trebeck labouring under indigestion, which confined him to the house. We were lodged in the Raja's dwelling, a substantial stone edifice, the interior of which had been stripped of everything valuable by the Sikhs. They had also demolished the old wall of the city which appeared to have been of great solidity. The town stands on the side of a hill and on the east runs a small stream, called here the Malkani Tihoi : on the opposite side was a garden laid out in imitation of Shalimar. but it had been demolished by the Sikhs. The bazar is small but clean and well supplied."

"The present Raja of Rajaor, Rahim-Ullah-Khan, was the half-brother of the preceding Raja, Agar-Ullah-Khan, who is now a prisoner at Lahore. Ranjit had compelled him to join his forces in his first and unsuccessful attack on Kashmir, the failure of which he ascribed to Agar-Ullah's treachery. Accordingly in revenge he sent an over-powering force against Rajaor, took and partly

48. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*; pp. 98-100,

destroyed it, and having captured the Raja threw him into confinement and placed his half-brother in the Raj. Rahim-Ullah was a mild, good-humoured man, and treated us with much kindness."⁴⁹

Raja Rahimullah Khan ruled in Rajauri in subordination to the Sikh court. In addition to paying annual tribute like all other Hill Chiefs, he had to assist the Sikhs in their campaigns against Punch, Hazra and other adjoining countries, when called upon. Agarullah Khan was in prison at Lahore, but his son, Hasibullah Khan had been liberated. Encouraged by the sympathisers of the family, he gathered a force and invaded Rajauri. He was stopped on the border and assistance from Lahore was sought, which was promptly received. Hasibullah Khan was defeated, captured and again imprisoned in Lahore.

The Raja of Rajauri had then to face the hostility of the Jammu family. In 1822, two members of the family, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, were created Rajas of Jammu and Samba-Bandralta respectively. The third member, Dhian Singh the Prime Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was made Raja and given the *Raj* of Punch and Chibhal in 1827, and later Jasrota was given to his son Raja Hira Singh. Thus whole of the outer hill territory, between the Ravi and the Jehlum, was under their control, and Rajauri alone seems to have evaded somehow the supremacy of the Jammu family. It is said that Ranjit Singh had assured the rulers of Rajauri independence from their control. The Jammu family had desired to possess that State but Ranjit Singh's personal interest seems to have deterred the Jammu Rajas from making any move against Rajauri. Finally they hit upon an amusing plan of making their request for the transfer of the Rajauri State. Dhian Singh's son Raja Hira Singh, a boy of some twelve years at that time, had become the favourite of the Maharaja who bestowed on him the State of Jasrota, with the title of Raja and '*farzand-i-khasul khas*' (Very favourite son). They thought of making use of him. Prompted by them and in their presence Raja Hira Singh one day said to the Maharaja: "Maharaj, you have conferred upon me many favours for which I am grateful, but there is one thing wanting for which I make request." The Maharaja inquisitively asked what was that, and the boy replied, that among the favours he had received there was no good rice land for the use of his household. The Maharaja asked where he would prefer to have such lands. He replied that Rajauri was famous for its rice. The

49. Moorcroft, William, Travels, p. 446.

Maharaja then turned to the two brothers, Raja Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh, and asked their opinion, and they replied that it would be a great kindness if Rajauri was added to, Raja Hira Singh's *jagir*. The Maharaja then remarked : "Very good, let Hira Singh have Rajauri and Rahimullah Khan, Jammu and Jasrota." No more was heard of the rice lands of Rajauri, but other means were devised to gain the desired end.⁵⁰

Rahimullah Khan was conscious of the danger to his State from the Jammu family whose possessions locked it all around. In order to avert the danger he decided to represent his case personally to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and for that purpose he went to Lahore to wait upon the Maharaja, but feared to do so in open Darbar, which offered the only opportunity to chiefs. He waited for long for a suitable opportunity. His absence from the State and its more or less defenceless conditions encouraged the Jammu Rajas to move their forces into Rajauri territory from various quarters, and although a brave stand was made things looked hopeless for the defenders. But the news of the invasion reached the Maharaja and fearing adverse consequences Raja Dhian Singh secretly wrote to Gulab Singh to evacuate the State which was hurriedly done and the State got a lease of another decade of independent existence. In the famine of 1833 when the people of Kashmir suffered greatly, the neighbouring States were asked to render help. Rahimullah Khan sent large supplies of grain to be distributed in Valley free.

In 1835 Rajauri was visited by an English traveller, G. T. Vigne who reached there via Akhnur and Naushehra, and was hospitably received by the Raja Rahimullah Khan. The traveller makes some observations on the country and its ruler some of which are obviously erroneous. He writes: "The territory of Rajawar which lies in the way from Lahore to Kashmir, was originally, I believe, a gift to his (the Raja's) ancestor by Aurangzeb, whose great-grand-father, Akbar, had taken the valley of Kashmir; and upon one occasion he showed me three original grants, sealed and signed by Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, his son. They were beautiful and interesting specimens of Persian penmanship, but the lapse of time, and the conquests of the Sikhs, have much lessened the territory and revenue of Rajawar, part of which arose from a right to 12,000 *kirwabs* of rice in Kashmir, where the Raja still holds a village near Zynapur. The country under the dominion of

Rajawar originally extended from Punch to Jammu. I asked the Raja how he pronounced the name of his capital; Rajawur was his answer (though it is usually called Rajawar), with an emphasis on the last syllable. Rajawar means the fortress of the Raj, the kingdom or territory. Rahimullah-shah is deservedly considered a very learned and well read man among natives; and I know of no one whom I would sooner consult on the subject of tradition, or from whom I could collect more local and historical information regarding these countries than himself."

"Raja Rahim-Ullah-Shah of Rajawur is now from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His person is short, but large and muscular, his mouth large, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes smaller in proportion and the expression of his countenance, though somewhat stern and heavy, is decidedly a good one. I have been his guest at Rajawur on three separate occasions, and he and his sons have always treated me with great kindness and civility."

The good will of the Sikh Maharajas towards the Raja of Rajauri deterred the Jammu Rajas from subverting that State till the Treaty of Amritsar on 16th April 1846, when after the Sikh defeat in the war of 1845-46, Maharaja Dalip Singh had ceded the Hill territories between the Satluj and the Indus to the British Government of India, who on their behalf, handed over the territory to Gulab Singh in return for Rs. 75,00,000 and installed him the Maharaja of the newly created Jammu and Kashmir State through that Treaty. The State of Rajauri formed a part of the territory transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh. On receiving this news the Raja of Rajauri at once went to the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence at Lahore to represent his case. Meanwhile, a force from Jammu entered the territory and occupied Rajauri. However, Sheikh Imamuddin, the Sikh governor of Kashmir rebelled and refused to handover the province to Gulab Singh's men. He also sent a contingent to Rajauri which, in cooperation with the Raja's men, drove the Jammu officers out of Rajauri for a time but it was soon reoccupied, and the Raja had no other alternative than to go to Simla to represent his case before the Governor-General, and was there shown a letter from his son, addressed to himself and intercepted on the way, giving a full account of the capture of Rajauri. He was there made to realise that he had no other alternative than to submit since all the Hill territory had been made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh under the Treaty. He was then made to instruct his son to stop further resistance. In October Maharaja Gulab Singh arrived at Rajauri accompanied by a British officer and Faqirullah-

Khan was given the option of remaining at Rajauri in subordination to Jammu or to retire to British territory. He chose to leave the State. The sight of his departure was a pathetic affair and the family felt great pain at having to abandon a home where they lived as rulers for eight hundred years. Crowds thronged the streets and roofs of the houses to witness their old ruling dynasty going into exile. They shed tears and raised cries of bewailing at the last look at those whom they would never see again. Raja Rahimullah Khan, a man of about seventy-five years at that time, was still at Simla. He was also given the option to remain in subjection or to migrate to British territory at a selected place. He too accepted the latter alternative. The family was therefore given the fort and other buildings at Rehlu in Kangra district as their residence. Rehimullah Khan instructed his son to convey the family members from Lahore to their new residence at Rehlu, and in December 1846 they reached their destination. A pension of Rs. 16,000 a year was fixed for their subsistence, to be payable from the Jammu and Kashmir treasury through the British Government of India. The Raja himself arrived in January, 1847. He did not survive the transfer more than a few months and died in June 1847, leaving the estate and title to his grandson, Hamidullah Khan, as his two elder sons have predeceased him. Afterwards, when Maharaja Gulab Singh transferred to the British Government of India the portion of Pathankot tract in lieu of all the political pensions paid by him through that Government, the subsistence of Rajauri family, along with that of other dispossessed Rajas, became the direct responsibility of the Government of India and all the relations of the Rehlu family were severed from Jammu and Kashmir State.

During the Second Sikh War of 1848-49, some members of the family offered their services to the British Government and fought against the Sikhs. A few years later the family found it hard to live together conveniently at Rehlu because of their large number and they submitted a request to the Government for permission to purchase another place of residence in addition to Rehlu. The request was granted and they were given option to choose one of the three places offered, and they chose the Saman Burj in Wazirabad, formerly a country residence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Some members of the family repaired to that residence in 1855. The head of that branch was Faqirullah Khan, the uncle of the Raja. Both the branches of the family rendered commendable services to the British Government of India during the Mutiny of 1857, the Rehlu branch in Dharmsala and Kangra and the

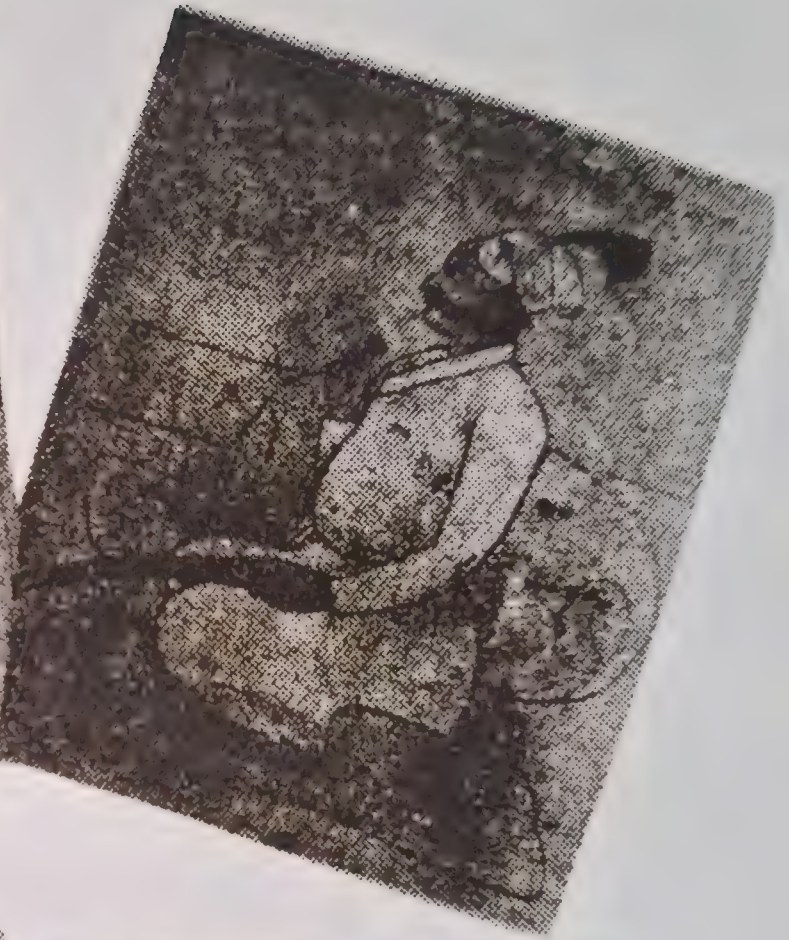
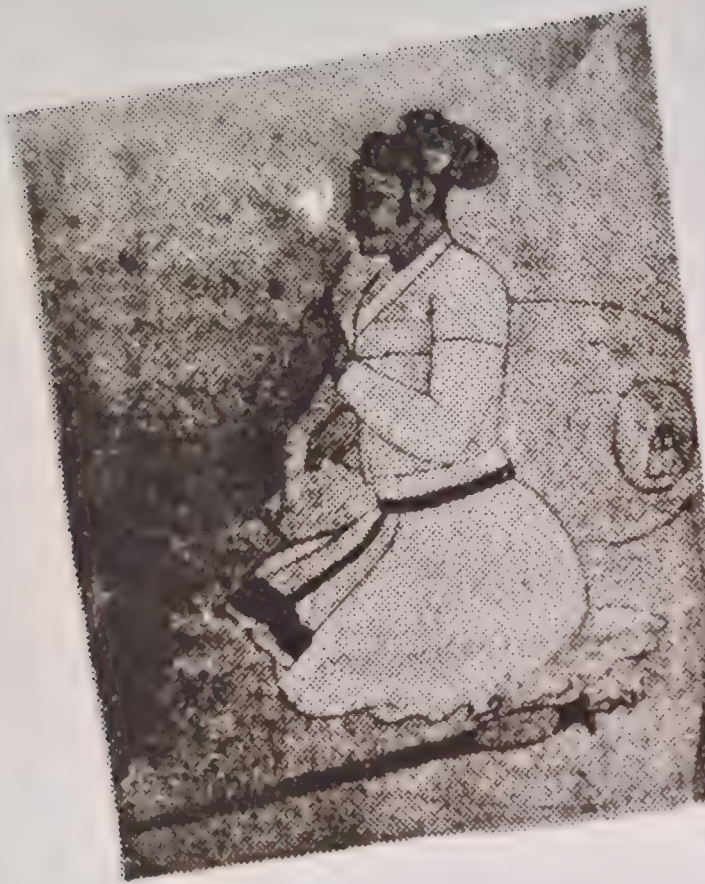
Wazirabad branch in the army before Delhi. Mirza Ataullah Khan and Mirza Abdullah Khan, sons of Faqirullah Khan joined the 10th Bengal cavalry which they served with distinction. Their services were duly recognised by the Government. In view of their loyalty and devotion the Government converted the pension of the Rehlu branch into an extensive jagir there in 1863-64, which retained the title of Raja. The members of this family served Government in almost every department of administration with distinction. One of them, Raja Ataullah Khan, son of Mirza Faqirullah Khan, served in Abyssinia and the Afghan war as military officer and was afterwards appointed to the responsible position of British Envoy at Kabul. He died in 1902 and his son, Raja Ikramullah Khan became the head of the family and was nominated member of the Legislative Council. Raja Hamidullah Khan, the head of the Rehlu branch served in Dharmasala as an Extra Assistant Commissioner for many years and died in 1879. He was succeeded by his son, Nijamatullah Khan, who was also for some time in Government service and on retiring, was appointed Honorary Magistrate with powers in his own *jagir*. He died in 1904, and was succeeded by his son Azimullah Khan. In the Kangra earthquake of 1905, some twenty-nine members of the Rehlu family were killed including the Raja himself who left no heir and was succeeded by his uncle, Raja Waliullah Khan. The Rehlu family served the Government in the two World Wars and on partition of India in 1947, finally migrated to Pakistan.



Plate No. 19

Raja Anand Dev of Bahu, with courtiers and attendants.

Bahu (Jammu), c. 1690.



.. Plate No. 20
Rajas of Basohli



Plate No. 21

*Raja Dhruv Dev of Jasrota looking at points of a horse
by moonlight, Jammu, c. 1740—50*



Plate No. 22

Raja Dhruv Dev of Jasrota holding a Rosary. Jammu. c. 1700—1710



Plate No. 23

A Hill Raja with women

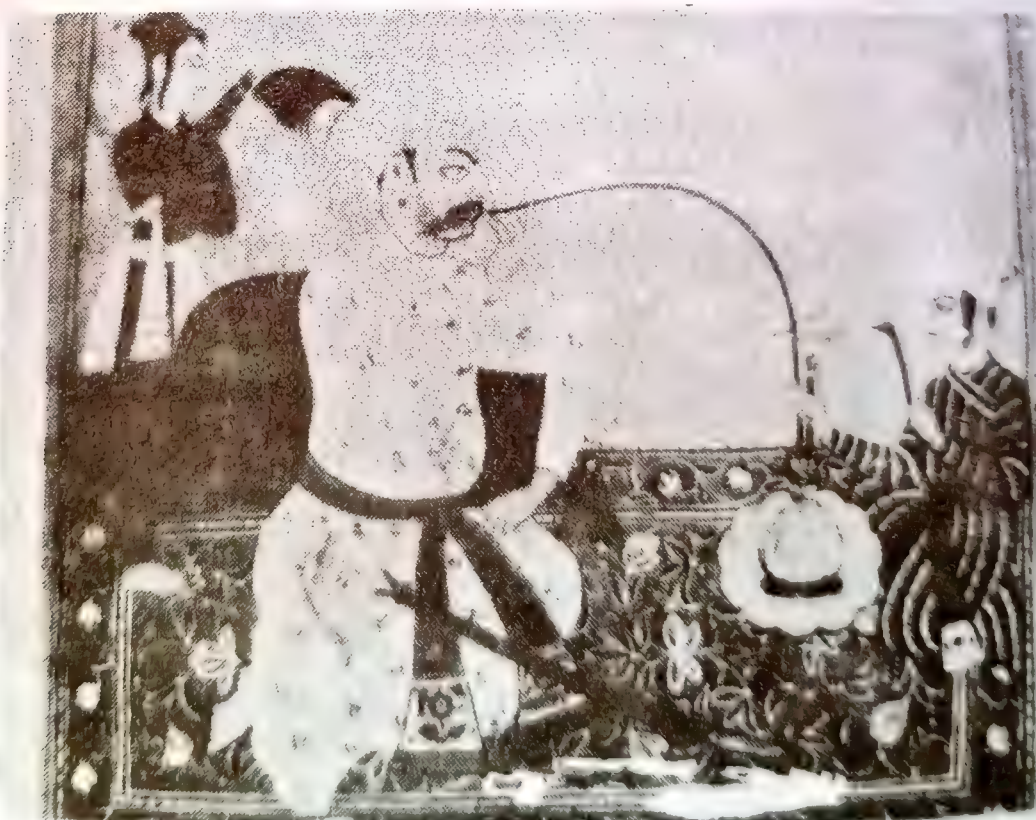


Plate No. 24

*Raja Kirpal Pal (1678—1693 A.D.) of Basohli, Basohli, Cireca,
Late 18th Century*

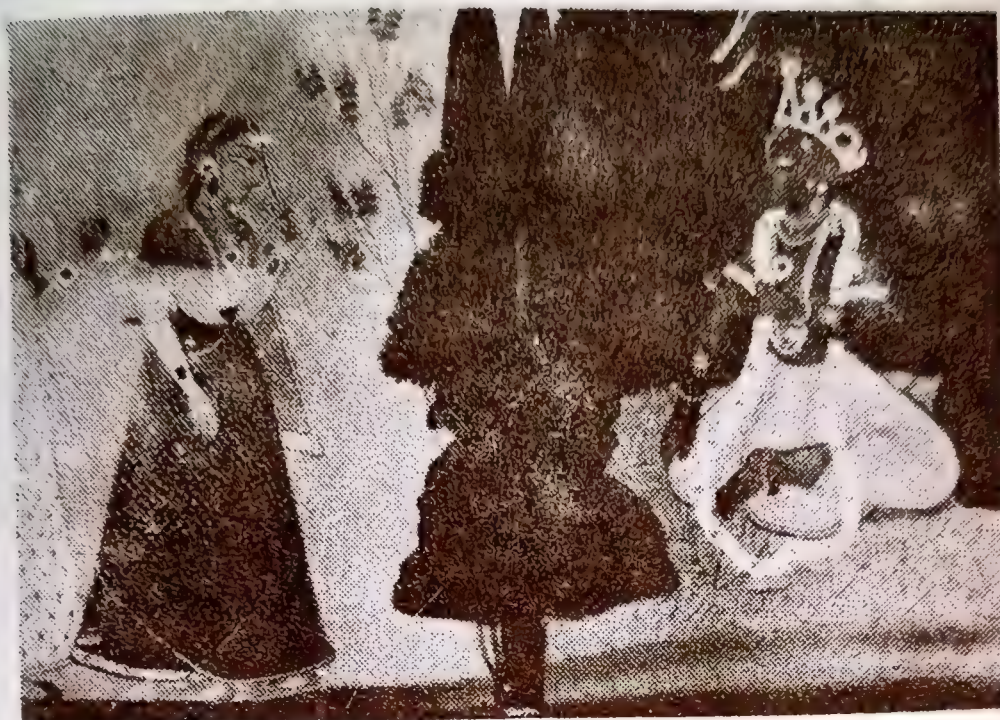


Plate No. 25

A Basohli painting from Gita Govinda



Plate No. 26

A Basohli painting From Rasa Manjari



Plate No. 27

A Hill Chief and Ladies. Basohli 1750 A.D.



Plate No. 28

Devi riding a chariot. Basohli, 1720 A.D.



Plate No. 29
Jammu Rajas and Chiefs.

Bhimbar State

The Chibh States of Bhimber and Khari-Kharali were situated in the outer hills between the Chenab and the Jehlam, south of Rajauri and Punch. The original name of this whole tract in ancient times was Darvabhisara which continued down to the twelfth century and possibly till a much later date. It became changed to Chiban after the occupation of the tract by the Chibh tribe, and the founding of the two states bearing this name in the southern part of this region.¹ Previous to the founding of Bhimbar and Khari-Khariali, this area was probably a part of the greater Rajapuri State.

Bhimbar, Lat. $34^{\circ} 36'$ and Long. $74^{\circ} 8'$, was a small town situated in the plains, on the right bank of the stream Bhimbar-Tohi (or Tawi), which flowed into the Chenab near Wazirabad. It was about 45 kilometres north of Gujrat, 30 kilometres east of Jhelum town and some 80 kilometres west of Jammu. The town, which was mostly built of stone, was surrounded on all except the south side, by low hills, about 500 to 600 feet in height.²

The place was of some importance, as being the point of

1. Hutchison, J. and Voghel, J. Pb., *HPHS*. Vol. II, p. 725.

2. *Gazetter of Kashmir and Lcdakh*, 1890, p. 222.

departure from the plains for Kashmir, and was some 230 kilometres distant from Srinagar, by the Pir Panjal route. There was an old Moghul *sarai* in the middle of the town and a brick *garhi* or fort of no strength on the north. To the south of the town were two buildings for the reception of travellers; there was also a good encamping ground supplied with water from the *nadi* (stream). The ruins of the palace of the old *rajas*, of Bhimbar could be traced near the village on the left of the road towards Kashmir.

The original name of this whole area, in ancient times, was Darvabhisara from the name of two tribes by whom it was inhabited. This name finds frequent mention in *Rajatarangini* and also in earlier works of Alexander's historians. This name seems to have been continued upto at least thirteenth century, and in Mughal times it was called Chibhan and Chibhal. The territory where the Chibh states later founded, were ruled by the Thakial tribe of Rajputs from whom the Chibh rulers inherited it.

According to the Chibh tradition the Chibh states were founded by a cadet of the Katoch line of Kangra, about A.D. 1400. Raja Megh Chand of Kangra, c. A.D. 1390, had three sons³, named Hari Chand, Karm Chand and Pratap Chand. Hari Chand succeeded his father, but fell into a well while out hunting, and after a long search was regarded as dead, and his brother Karm Chand was seated on the throne of Kangra. On his recovery Hari Chand founded the Haripur-Guler State. The third son was Pratap Chand whose successors were called Chibh Rajputs who founded the Bhimbar state. Chibh annals name Prag Chand the fourth son whose offering came to be called Bhuria Rajputs⁴, who inhabited *tehsil* Una. The third son, Pratap Chand had a son named Narain Chand. The latter left his country with a force and his four sons to carve out a kingdom for himself. He marched westward and passing through the southern parts of Jammu, crossed the Chenab and first settled in village near Bhimbar, named Malaria or Maghlura. At that time Jammu was being ruled over by Raja Mal Dev (c.A.D. 1361-1407).

At that time the Bhimbar territory was being ruled by Raja Sripat, the chief of the Thakial Rajput tribe. Narain Chand and

3. The local tradition of the Chibh tribe gives the number of sons as four, the third being Partap Chand, *Tarikh-i-Chibal* (Urdu) by Thakur Mehjar Singh, Jammu, Samvat 1983 (A.D. 1926) p. 18.
4. Mehjar Singh, Takur. *Tarikh-i-Chibhal* (Urdu), Jammu, 1926, p. 9.

his men were living in obscurity at Maghlur. But Raja Sripat learnt of their noble lineage and married his only daughter to his eldest son, Chibh Chand, and gave him some territory in gift in which the Katoch family built a small village and named it Kangra after the home of their ancestors. After the death of Raja Sripat Chibh Chand succeeded to his principality. At that time Bhimbar village had not been founded, and they had their capital at a place below the Adhi Dhak spur, called Jhangar, which shows ruins of former habitation.

The succession, however, was not a normal affair. It was achieved through treachery and bloodshed. It is said that the Thakiyal tribe was not prepared to yield their tribal right to a scion of another tribe. Chibh Chand, therefore, laid an ambush and killed a large number of Thakiyals when they were engaged in celebrating a marriage. He fell upon them with his soldiers, most of Sripat's clansmen were killed and the remaining fled away, leaving the field to the Chibh Chand who now became the Raja. He adopted some of the Thakiyal customs and accepted their Brahman preceptors as his family *purohits*, and he announced severance of all relations with Katoch family of Kangra and their *purohits*, and from that day this new ruling family adopted the name of Chibh Rajputs after the founder of their state.

Chibh Chand was succeeded by a line of little known chiefs Kalas Chand Rupal Chand, Ajan Chand, Bhabiri Chand, Shanti Chand, Goja Chand, one after the other, till the latter's son Raja Dharam Chand ascended the *gaddi*. He was contemporary of Ibrahim Lodhi in whose reign he was forced to embrace Islam under strange circumstances. Dharm Chand was also married to a Thakiyal girl known to the legends as Thakiyal Rani who dug a well about three miles to the south of Bhimbar, known as the Rani's well.

The story goes that a *sadhu* had disclosed to Raja Dharm Chand the secret of a herbal treatment for all forms of skin disease. Once Sultan Ibrahim Lodi suffered from an intractable skin growth which defied all treatment by the royal physicians. A merchant from Delhi who traded in Kashmir fruits, who stayed at Bhimbar frequently on his way to and from Kashmir, knew about the Raja's miraculous power and revealed it to the Sultan who sent for the Raja. The Raja could not defy the summons, as the territory of Gujrat adjoining Bhimbar had already been reduced to subjection by Behlol Lodi who had founded there the village of Behlolpur after his own name and placed his own officer there. The

Raja, therefore, left for Delhi with a few of his companions where he was kindly received by the Sultan. The Raja treated him to health but the Sultan did not allow him to come back. He was forced to embrace Islam and was re-named Shadab Khan. To ensure culture in his new religion the daughter of a Muslim noble was wedded to him and a guard was placed on him to make his escape impossible. After a few years Raja Dharm Chand escaped to his country chased by imperial forces under the command of Haibat Khan Qandhari. The Raja was overtaken and in the scuffle that followed Haibat Khan Qandhari was killed near the village of Fatehpur Harani in Gujrat where a *khanqah* has been built on the spot and is known as Pir Qandhari. The Raja was also fatally wounded. His horse carried him towards his place but the Raja fell down dead before the palace. The imperial officers meanwhile reached there and took charge of the dead body and he was buried in a grave. The Thakial Rani could not survive the tragedy and died soon after. She too seems to have been buried in the same grave along with her husband. The grave was built on a hill called Adhi Dhak, some five miles away from Bhimbar. It was the form of a stone built square usually covered by a piece of cloth. Both Hindu and Musalman Chibhs used to worship the grave. Hindus called him 'Sidh Shadi' whereas Muslim worshipped him as 'Bawa Shadi Shaheed'. The *majawar* (caretaker) of the grave claimed himself to be a Khokhar Rajput, the descendant of the Khakhar *wazir* of Raja Dharm Chand who had later embraced Islam. Hindu as well as Muslim Chibh Rajputs used to visit this grave of their common ancestor on the occasion of *mundan* (tonsil ceremony) and marriages and prayed for boons, and sacrificed goats at the shrine. The Muslim Chibh Rajputs retained their Hindu customs for long time and as they were very close to Hindus in their outlook and social customs so Hindus continued to give their daughters to them till as late as the last Muslim Chibh ruler of Bhimbar, Raja Sultan Khan who was imprisoned by Gulab Singh in 1825 as will be described in the following pages.

Raja Dharm Chand or Shadab Khan is said to have received a confirmation for his possessions from Babar. He is also said to have accompanied Humayun on some of his expeditions, and was finally killed by one Pir Haibat Qandhari, and has ever since been venerated as a saint. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage to which both Hindus and Muslims resort. The shrine is called Sur Sadi Shahid. At this shrine every Chibh child must be presented on

attaining a certain age, so that the lock of hair (*latan*), especially retained for the purpose, may be cut off with great ceremony befitting the occasion ; without this he could not become a true Chibh.

In light of the facts narrated above Dharm Chand must have ruled from about 1515 to 1535. Only one of his predecessors have been mentioned in contemporary history His name has been recorded as Howns (probably Hans), who, in A. D. 1486, defeated a force from the Panjab seeking to enter Kashmir by way of Bhimbar. He was probably Dharm Chand's grandfather whom *Vansavali* names as Shanti Chand. The chronicles of the period donot give any information about Bhimbar after Raja Dharm Chand. The Chibh *vansavali*, however, tells us that Raja Dharam Chand had two sons from Hindu wife, named Bhup Chand and Rup Chand, and two sons from his Muslim wife, named Mal Khan and Gulmuhammad Khan. The State was thus divided into two principalities, the eastern portion going to the share of Raja Rup Chand and the other portion on the west of the Nala Bhimbar fell to the share of Raja Mal Khan. Bhup Chand, called Bhum Khan by Muslims, founded a town which he named Bhumpur which afterwards became corrupted into Bhimbar. Bhup Chand was also pressed for conversion but he remained firm to the faith of his forefathers. However, on his death things changed. He left behind two sons, named Ghaggi and Ghani Chand. The Muslim sons of Raja Dharm Chand, raised a claim to the throne of Bhimbar and the Mughals offered the throne on condition of conversion to Islam. The elder son Ghaggi refused the offer but the younger Ghani Chand turned a Muslim and became Raja of Bhimbar under the name of Ghani Khan and took a Muslim wife whose offspring became rulers of Bhimbar, whereas his sons from his Hindu Rani remained Hindus and settled in neighbouring villages and Deva-Batala.

The successors of Ghani Khan, enumerated in the *vansavali* were : Jamshed Khan, Zafar Khan, Shah Muhammad Khan, Lad Khan and Ismail Khan, the last being contemporary of Aurangzeb. All these Muslim rulers of Bhimbar acknowledged the overlordship of the Mughals and took active part in converting their subject people to Islam. In Akbar's time a certain Kohli family of Khatri caste came to Bhimbar and settled there. On Todarmal's recommendation one of them was appointed the Raja's adviser. Since then members of that family remained in that office one after the other, with the title of Mehta. Mehta Gulab Rai of this family was the Mir Munshi of Aurangzeb. Raja Ismail Khan was always suspicious that Mehta Gulab Rai used to report all his activities

to the emperor. Once when the Mehta had gone to his home at Bhimbar, Raja Ismail Khan induced a certain Naurang Rai to murder the Mehta which was done. Aurangzeb did not like this act and he sent for the Raja. However, the Raja pleaded his innocence and escaped the fury of the emperor who got Naurang Rai killed mercilessly. However, the rulers of Bhimbar being of the same religion as the paramount power remained loyal to the throne of Delhi and doubtless experienced a large measure of favour not enjoyed by others. This special favour and protection must have continued after 1752 when the paramountcy over Panjab passed into the hands of the Durrani rulers of Kabul, and till the rise of Ranjit Dev to power in Jammu territories.

After Ismail Khan five little known Rajas ruled in Bhimbar whose names according to the *vansavali* were : Raja Chokjannat Khan, Raja Rehmatullah Khan, Raja Karimullah Khan, Raja Sher Safdar Khan and Raja Majhi Khan. In sixth generation was Raja Na'im or Munim Khan who was contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Dev. The old feud between the ruling family of Bhimbar and the influential Mehta family turned grave. In spite of many upheavals in Mughal court after Aurangzeb's death the Mehta family retained their status and hold at the imperial court. When emperor Mohammad Shah ruled in Delhi Mehta Sital Dass was in his service. He came to Bhimbar for some time. Though Raja Na'im Khan showed him due regards, but finding an opportunity he plundered and carried away whole of his property. The Mehta made a complaint to the emperor, who sent the Mehta's son Mehta Bahadur Singh to the court of the governor of Kashmir, Raja Sukhjiwan, as a special counsellor with a view to restore the influence and prestige of Mehta Sital Dass. But meanwhile Ahmad Shah Durrani once again occupied Kashmir and imprisoned Raja Sukhjiwan with the help of Maharaja Ranjit Dev. With the Durrani's acquiescence Ranjit Dev occupied and annexed whole of the Chibhal territory including Bhimbar, and Na'im Khan reluctantly appointed Mehta Bahadur Singh as his *vakil* at the Jammu court. But Na'im Khan could not overcome the traditional aversion to the Mehta family and once while Mehta Bahadur Singh was at Bhimbar, he got him murdered by his own soldiers. This probably happened in 1760 A. D. Mehta Bahadur Singh's son Sujan Singh made an appeal to Ranjit Dev for justice who summoned Na'im Khan to his court and instituted an inquiry into the whole affair; but meanwhile Na'im Khan died and his son and successor, Raja Sulaiman Khan expressed his innocence in the affair and was pardoned by Ranjit Dev, but he had to accept

Mehta Sujan Singh as his *wair*. With the *wazzir's* advice Raja Sulaiman Khan gave a good administration to his State and won praise of his people. His rule was, however, short and he died in 1767 after reigning only for five years. His son Raja Sultan Khan, the greatest ruler of Bhimbar family succeeded to the throne of his father.

With the rise of the Sikhs to supreme power this long period of tranquility came to an end. From about 1782 inroads from their roving bands, intent on plunder, must have become of frequent occurrence after the death of Ranjit Dev. Finally Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in 1800, established his supremacy and soon afterwards made all the Hill States tributary. The States in the Chibhan were among the last to submit to his superior force. It was due to their location on the road to Kashmir which was then under Durrani rule and which Ranjit Singh planned to conquer, but had to bide his time. In 1810 Sultan Khan, a brave and resolute man, was the ruler of Bhimbar. In that year Ranjit Singh made first inroad into the Chibhan territory. Sultan Khan made a determined resistance, but had finally to submit and pay Rs. 40,000 in tribute. A large portion of his state was at the same time made over to a relative, named Ismail Khan with a view probably of weakening the State. After this Sultan Khan ruled in peace for two years, but in 1812 a conflict took place between him and Ismail Khan in which the latter got killed. Ranjit Singh became offended at this development and he sent a Sikh force under the nominal command of Prince Kharak Singh. Sultan Khan took position on an unassailable height above the town of Bhimbar and continued to attack Sikh force which was finally defeated and repulsed. However, reinforcements were immediately despatched and afraid of the prospect of a long drawn battle Sultan Khan had opened negotiations and the Sikh Commander agreed to restore the territory to the Raja and to treat him with honour. On these terms he was induced to accompany the Sikh Commander to Lahore. But on his arrival Ranjit Singh refused to rectify the terms and committed Sultan Khan to prison in the Lahore Fort, putting him in irons.⁵ There he remained for six years. The State was conquered and conferred on Prince Kharak Singh in *jagir*.⁶

In 1819 Ranjit Singh made his final and successful advance on Kashmir, and Sultan Khan was liberated in order that he might

5. Mehjar Singh, Thakur. *Tarikh-i-Chibhal*, op. cit., p., 74 ; Khan Singh Balauria, *Tawarikh-Rajgan-i-Jammu-w-Kashmir*, p. 98.
6. Khan Singh Balauria, *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu-w-Kashmir*, p. 98. *HPHS*, vol. II p. 727.

accompany the army. He took a leading part in the conquest of Kashmir. On the conclusion of the campaign a portion of the state was restored to him.⁷ Two years after his restoration Moorcroft passed through Bhimbar, and he gives the following description⁸ of the truncated Raj of Bhimbar.

“The town of Bhimbar may be considered the head of a small *raj* of that name which extends some distance beyond Naushehra Serai. Its whole length does not exceed twenty-five *kos*. It is bordered on the north and north-east by Rajaur, to the east by the district of Pauni Bharak, to the south by Kotla and Jalalpur, and to the west by the petty chiefship of Khari-Khariali.” The state contained three towns-Bhimbar, Samahni, and Mangal Devi.

Sultan Khan lived near Samahni and enjoyed a revenue of sixty thousand rupees.⁹ Now he passed a couple of years in comperative peace and contentment, but his days were now numbered. Gulab Singh had been made hereditary Raja of Jammu in June 1822 and so he delved on a career of expansion and consolidation. Bhimbar was the first victim of his ambition for empire building. He cultivated friendship with Sultan Khan, and sometime after 1822¹⁰ he was invited to Jammu, treacherously caught and blinded. Soon afterwards he died at Jammu.

Though Sultan Khan's nephew, Faiz Talab Khan, was raised to the chiefship of Bhimbar with the permission of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but the State virtually remained a fief of Jammu. This chief was dispossessed of the most of the territory in 1840. He finally retired from the hills in 1847, after the cession of the hill tracts to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the treaty of 16th March 1846. The family resided at Pathi, in the Gujrat District in British territory, on a pension of Rs. 10,000¹¹ from the government of Maharaja Gulab Singh.

In later times Bhimbar had grown into a large and powerful State including Naushehra to the borders of Rajauri with a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees.

7. Hutchison and Vogel : HPHS, op. cit., Vol II, p. 727.

8. *Moorcroft & Trabecks Travels*, ed, Wilson, reprint, Patiala, 1974, pp. 447-448.

9. Ibid.

10. The date of Sultan Khan's imprisonment and death at Jammu, as given by Thakur Mehjar Singh, is samvat 1822 Bikrami. corresponding to A. D. 1725. cf. *Tarikh-i-Chibhal*, op. cit., p. 77. Shahamat Ali.

11. Hutchison and Voghel, HPHS, op. cit., p. 728.

Khari-Khariali State

Khari-Khariali was another of the Chibh States situated in the outer Hills between the Chenab and Jehlam rivers, about which very little is known except that it was founded by Chibh Chand's younger brother, Kharak Chand in about A. D. 1400.

According to another tradition,¹ after the death of Shadi or Shadab Khan, Bhimbar State was divided equally between his two sons, Bhum Chand or Bhum Khan and Malkhan, and Bhimbar stream served as the dividing line, Mal Khan made Pindi Bhunja his residence. He was succeeded to the principality by his son Aghlash Khan. His descendants continued to rule the principality till Sikh invasions began at the close of the eighteenth century.

It is said that Sikh sardars, Sahib Singh of Gujrat and Mahan Singh Sukarchakia invaded the territory and attacked Mangla fort, but without success. After Ranjit Singh had acquired Gujrat he marched into the hills and reduced the fort of Chunian, held by Raja Umar Khan, who then retired to the strong fort of Mangla. Finally Raja Umar Khan sued for peace through his son Akbar Ali

1. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Chibhal* by Thakur Mehjar Singh, pp. 19 and 83-84. Also Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu w Futuh-i-Maharaja Gulab Singh*, p. 39.

Khan, but he died before any settlement could be struck. On his death the State was confiscated, and a pension of Rs. 4,000 was assigned to Amar Khan, second son of Umar Khan.² The principality was then farmed out to the Jammu family.

When the Hill tract was made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh this jagir was also included in that territory,³ and Rs. 3,000 was granted as pension to Amar Khan's cousin, Sher Jang Khan. On Amar Khan's death the pension was continued to his son, Fazl Khan, who held the title of Raja. When the Hill territory was made over to Gulab Singh in 1846, the *jagir* of Rs. 4,000 was included in Jammu and Kashmir State. A cash allowance of Rs. 1,075 had also been granted to Fazl Dad Khan by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and this was exchanged for a *jagir* of the same value in Dal-Kalu and Sithal villages, but was resumed by British Government on his death in 1864, and a pension of Rs. 540 was granted to his sons, Nazr Ali Khan and Fateh Khan. Members of the Khari-Khariaali Chibh family resided in Mirpur *tehsil* of Jammu Province and were in the army and J & K government services.

2. Hutchison and Voghel, HPHS, Vol. II, p. 728.

3. *Ibid.*

Section 5

KASHTAVATA (KASHTWAR) STATE

Kashthavata-Kashtwar State

1

INTRODUCTION

Kashtwar, known to *Rajatarangini* as Kashthavata, now a district in the Jammu and Kashmir State, was uptill 1820, a large and important State in that region. It has been one of the oldest States in the Hills, which played an effective role in the annals of her neighbouring states of Chamba, Kashmir, Ladakh and Jammu. A country of lofty mountains and deep valleys, of ancient races with tribal admixture and of lovely foliage and colourful flowers fringing the streams, rivulets and pathways—Kashtwar has been a seat of political power for over two milleniums, although not much trustworthy is known of its history prior to the middle ages. It was situated in the inner Himalaya to the east of Kashmir and comprised a part of the Chandrabhaga or Chenab valley, extending from Nagsun to Ramban, corresponding in extent to the present Kashtwar *tahsil* if Padar region be excluded. The State was bounded on the north by Ladakh on the east by Padar and Chamba, on the south by Bhadarwah, and Cheneni and on the west by Kashmir.

In the heyday of its greatness Kashtwar¹ State embraced the

following cantons or divisions¹ :—

1. Kashtwar Proper :
2. Nagsun—the main valley of the Chandrabhaga between Kashtwar and Padar.
3. Dachin and Maru-Wardwan, comprising the whole of the valley of that name.
4. Doda-Saraj (or Mahabul)—on the right bank of Chandrabhaga, from Silighat to Banihal.
5. Sartali or Shatali—a small valley on the left bank, of the Chandrabhaga to the south of Kashtwar.
6. Surur—a small valley to the south of Sartali.
7. Udil—the country to the north-west of Kashtwar in the valley of the Kasher Khol.
8. Kontwara—the territory on the right bank of the Chandrabhaga between Udil and Doda-Saraj.
9. Banihal—from Doda to Ramban,
10. Bhonjwah—the valley of the Bhonjwah Nala bordering with Balesa in Bhadarwah.

The paths and road to Kashtwar is a difficult one and preserves an average elevation of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet above the river. The scenery is majestic and picturesque. Villages and patches of cultivation are perched conspicuously here and there at all imaginable variety of heights, aspects and position. The bank of river is precipitous everywhere ; “the streams are torrents, and the mountain—tops, covered with clouds and snow, are often seen to the greatest advantage from some open or more elevated spot in the thick and constant forest composed of oak and holly-oak that so much and generally abound.”² The summits of mountains which tower on every side of the valley are covered with snow and fir trees. Several streams come tumbling down to the river Chandrabhaga from a very great elevation. There is a plateau or valley in the midst of these mountains, not perfectly level, but undulating, every where cultivated. Villages are scattered over the plain and are usually surrounded by hedgeless fields, raised in plateau and irrigated by the little streams that flow over it from the eastward.

The climate of Kishtwar is some thing like that of Bhadarwah, but it is somewhat warmer. Snow falls during four months of winter, but it does not continually stay on the ground; it may do so for twenty days at a time. On the slopes towards the river 1,000

1. J.P.H.S., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 31;

2. Vigne, G. T. *Travels* pp. 202-204

to 1,500 feet below, it stays but a day. Wheat, barley and rice are cultivated in the fields. Saffron is also grown which is of very superior quality. The fruits produced are apples, pears, peaches, and quiness, plum, a few apricots, cherry, grapes, mulberry and walnut. Fruits are fine and tolerably abundant.³

This plain of Kishtwar, which is about seven kilometres in length from north to south and three kilometres across, is bounded on the east by mountains, on the left, i.e., on the west, it is ended by a ravine where the river flows, the farther bank of this again being formed by lofty rocky mountains. To reach this plateau one has first to descend deep into another ravine that bounds it on the south and from that to rise again. The plateau is 5,500 or 5,400 feet above the sea. "Unlike most of the flatter openings among the hills, it is not a mere plain nor a terraced slope, but it has little eminences and undulations ; nearly all is under cultivation. The villages are shaded by plane trees and by fruit-trees ; leading from one hamlet to another are hedge-rowed lanes, white and yellow and red rose and other shrubs, flowering. By the town is a beautiful piece of smooth, nearly level turf, half a mile long and a furlong broad, called the *Chaugan*, a place in former times kept for Polo playing, for which the carved goal-stones still remain, but now only common is played on it; this place, too, has some fine *chinar* or plane trees ornamenting it."⁴ This secluded valley of Kishtwar, so well adorned with verdure and with flowers and enclosed by great mountains, is the most pleasing and beautiful site.⁵ The mountains around are rocky below and have wooded slopes above ; the wood is oak on the eastern hills and deodar and fir on the opposite ridge. The mountain on the south-west of the plateau is separated from its western edge by the river valley which has been cut down to some 1,300 feet deep, and across it is a great cliff of some 3,000 feet in height, from the summit of which the ground slopes back to the wooded ridge.

The most beautiful and conspicuous feature, however, is made by the stream coming down from the upper part of this ridge on the other bank of the river, over the cliff in a waterfall of great height. The water comes down in many jumps, the aggregate height of the falls within view being about 2,500 feet and above there are a few hundred feet more, which can be seen from other points. The first two jumps are each of about 500 feet which are

3. *Ibid.* cf Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, New Delhi, 1970. pp. 117-18.

4. Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875, p. 118.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

visible from the town of Kishtwar ; below them are two or three small ones, making up six or seven hundred feet more. Then there are irregular falls and cascades partly hidden by vegetation and irregularities of the channel for over eight hundred feet to the river, thus covering the two and a half thousand feet of the precipitous course.

The most interesting fact about the waterfall is that it has every variety of movement and feature. "In the greater leaps of water although in volume not little, for the roar is distinctly heard at a distance of two miles—becomes scattered into spray; again it collects and comes over the next ledge in a thick stream; in parts and divides into various lines, which at the distance, seen vertical, immovable, white threads. In the morning sun the spray made in the greater leaps shows prismatic colours, visible even at the distance of our chosen point—a phenomenon attributed by the people of the place to fairies who bathe in and display the strange hues of their bodies through the shower. The cascade is in greatest force in the spring on the melting of the snows above"⁶

The town of Kashtwar was much flourishing in the days of its old Rajas who ruled from this capital upto 1820. After its occupation by Gulab Singh immediately after, it lost its premiere position and headed towards decay, till it once again revived its former condition during the twentieth century, especially after 1947. It will be interesting to know about its condition during the middle of the last century. The European traveller, G. T. Vigne, who visited the place in 1842, describes it in the following words :

"The town now consists of about a hundred small houses, or rather cottages, not roofed like those of Kashmir but flat-topped and of one storey generally and composed of wood, loose stones and a plaster of mud. Fruit trees were planted amongst them. The principal street is occupied by the bazaar and contained fifteen or twenty looms for the manufacture of shawls of inferior quality. Coarse woollen blankets were also made there. The language of Kishtwar is not that of Kashmir, and much resembles, I believe, that of the Simla Hills. Near the town, on the northern side, is the finest deodar (or as it is here called, the Devidar, "the trees of the divinities") or hill-cedar that I have ever seen."

"The small town of Kishtwar is dirty and delapidated," wrote Mr. Frederick Drew⁸ in 1870. "There are about 200 houses

6. *Ibid.* London, 1875, pp. 117-18.

7. Vigne, G. T., *Travels*, 1842, pp. 202, 206.

8. Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*. London, 1875, p. 118.

including a bazaar with some shops; but there was a complete absence of life, of the busy cheerfulness one sees in some bazaars. The people seem to have been brought to a low stage of poverty from having in former years been given over to the Wazir family, which still holds much influence here. Two large houses, built after the fashion of the houses of the richer people in Kashmir, which belong to that family, are exceptions to the general state of decay. There is an old fort, on a little rising ground, oblong, with corner towers and other projecting buildings; it is manned by some thirty men. The inhabitants are more than half Kashmiri; the rest are Hindus of the Thakar, Krar and other castes. The Kashmiries here, too, carry on their shawl work; there are some twenty workshops for it in the town. In this place, as in Bhadarwah, they seem to have settled for some generations."

Kashtwar town is situated in the middle of an open plateau on the left bank of the Chandrabhaga river, near the point where it is joined by the Maru-Wardwan from the north, and was "small and mean, containing a population of about 2,000 souls. Many of the houses are in a ruinous condition and the place generally presents an appearance of decay. Its glory passed away nearly 100 years ago with the departure of the ancient rulers."⁹

Few traces now remain of the palaces of the old Rajas as these were destroyed during the conquest of Kashtwar by Dogras in 1820. The mud fort to the south of the town is said to stand on the site of the Raja's place. "No ancient temples exist in the town, all of them having been demolished soon after the royal family embraced Islam."¹⁰ Most of the inhabitants of the town are Muhammadans, and there are two renowned, *Ziarats* or tombs of saints: one in the town and the other at the southern end of the Chaghan. Both are associated with the Muhammadan Saints, Sayyid Farid-ud-din and his son. Israr-ud-din, the former of whom came to Kashtwar from Baghdad during the reign of Shah Jahan—and through whose influence the ruling family became Muhammadan.¹¹ The Chughan is situated at a distance of about one Kilometre to the north of the town and presented a very fine appearance being in fact famous all through the Hills as the distinguishing feature of Kashtwar.

9. I. P. H. S., Vol. IV., No. 1, p. 37.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

(2) HISTORY

(a) Sources and Early References.

The sources for the history of Kashtwar are extremely scanty and particularly for the period prior to the advent of Mughals these are almost non-existent. The only chief source of information is the *Vansavali* or state chronicle, which, as is the case with most of these documents, is not wholly trustworthy in its older portions. It exists only in the Persian character, the original in Sanskrit having probably been lost. The *Vansavali* is sketchy for events prior to the reign of Akbar, after which it records fuller and reliable details. Most of its events and assertions are corroborated in contemporaneous chronicles in Sanskrit and Persian. There is equally a paucity of inscriptional records. So far as known there are only two copper-plate title deeds, and they are of comparatively recent date. The only other reliable source are references to Kashtwar in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and later *Rajataranginis*, as well as in some of the Muhammadan historians, which are of great value. For the history before Maghals traditions current in the valley and some compiled by local scholars are important. Though abounding in supernatural element these traditions yet give some glimpses of early history of Kashtwar for which no other source exists. The authors of *History of the Punjab Hills States* found some useful accounts of local history in possession of the Pir Sahib in charge of the Israru-d-din Ziarat in Kashtwar whose ancestors had for generations "left personal and historical records of great value."¹² Based on these traditions and local records, a short account of history and economic and geographical conditions of Kashtwar was compiled by Sheoji Dar in Persian in 1881. A History in Hindi by Pandit Dina Nath was also based on historical tradition of Kashtwar. Maulvi Hashmatullah compiled his chapters on Kashtwar in 1937 from these accounts and from his personal observations on the country of Kashtwar. All these compilations contain a fairly detailed account of the history of Kashtwar from about the middle of the 16th century, but are extremely sketchy for the ages prior to that date.

The earliest historical notice of Kashtwar under the name Kashthavata is to be found in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. There it is stated that in the winter of A. D. 1087-8 during the reign of Raja Kalasa (A. D. 1063-89) several hill chiefs visited Kashmir to

12. J. P. H. S., Vol. VI. No 1, 1916, p. 29.

pay their respects to the Raja, who probably was at that period lord paramount of the hills, and of them was "Uttamaraja, the ruler of Kashthavata".¹³ The *Rajataranganis* of Jonaraja (V. 79) and Srivara (I. V. 45) also contain several references to this ancient state. The 4th *Rajatarangini* also refers to Kashtwar at several places.¹⁴ Besides showing repeatedly that Kashtwar served as a place of refuge for persons who for some reason or other had to flee from Kashmir, these chronicles do not give any other information about the history of this state. Ferishta is the earliest Muhammadan historian to refer to Kashtwar. The first of these is in connection with a recorded invasion of the country by the King of Kashmir in A. D. 1547.¹⁵ Afterwards, the Mughal chronicles make frequent and comparatively detailed references to the events of the history of Kashtwar.

(b) Early Traditions and the Foundation of the State.

The popular tradition about the earliest geographical evolution of Kashtwar avers that at one time the whole of the Chandrabhaga valley, from Singpur in the Kasher Khol valley to Thanthari at the junction of the Balesa Nala, was a vast lake formed by a rocky barrier across the river bed.¹⁶ Geologically this is not at all improbable. The drainage of this lake is ascribed to supernatural causes, but the phenomenon seems to be due to the ordinary forces of nature, the gradual erosion of the strata in the river bed. The process, however, seems to be very slow and may have taken a long time. Most of the land became dry and was covered by a dense forest of huge deodar trees, except a spot adjoining the chaugan to the north which remained under water for a long time after. This small lake came to be called Gobardhan-sar contracted to Godan-sar. Later geological changes drained away this lake also, leaving the entire valley a dry plateau.¹⁷

After the great lake drained away a hermit named Sher Pal is said to have established his first settlement there. He was a devotee of Kali. His hermitage attracted a number of pilgrims some of whom made their abode in his vicinity, and thus there

13. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, vii, 590. Eng. trans. by M. A. Stein, I, p. 315.

14. Verses 737, 740, 786, 793, 818, 829.

15. *Ferishta*, Briggs' trans., 1910, Vol. IV, pp. 500, 522, 528.

16. Sheoji Dar, Pandit, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* (Persian), Ms. 1881, p. 21.; Hashmatullah, 1937, p. 135.

17. *Ibid.*

grew up a town which they called Mahakalkandar. In course of time, however, the people fell into evil ways and ceased to obey the wise words of the hermit. He therefore pronounced a curse on the town which was soon afterwards foresaken.

A long time after this desertion a Brahmin named Hingpat came here and settled down. He had three sons, Ram Das, Raghunath Das, and Murli Das. They reared flocks of goats for their subsistence. In course of time a community was formed called Pohi, from 'Poh', the word for a goat in the local dialect. This community was, however, attacked and subjected by a people from the Kashmir side, or more probably from the neighbouring hills who called themselves Ganai and Rotar. The Rotar founded the village of Ziora and Ganai settled near the centre of the plateau, where the town now stands. Both of these tribes are now represented in the population, and rank as subdivisions of the Thakur caste, which is the chief agricultural community in the hills. In the opinion of Huchison and Voghel¹⁸ the name of Rotar may possibly be an abbreviation of 'Ranotar'=Ranaputra, son of a Rana (in analogy with Rajaputra, "son of a Raja"). From this fact it may be inferred that Rana ruled the valley to the north and east of Kashtwar. In the popular tradition and folklore numerous references were made to the ancient petty rulers who bore the title of Rana or Thakur. The tradition and title of Rana was not known in the main Chandrabhaga valley from Kashtwar downwards. But in Nagsun and the side valleys of Surur and Bhanjwah, evidences of their rulers are common. The *Rajatarangini* is replete with references to the Thakurs of the Chandrabhaga valley in connection with events of the 11th and 12th centuries¹⁹. Two of these Thakurs opposed Bhikshachara, the grandson of Harsha, in his attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir²⁰. These Ranotars or Rotars probably indicated the Rathi and Thakur caste some of whose petty chiefs continued to rule till after the foundation of the kingdom in Kashtwar.

The next event mentioned in the annals is the invasion of the country and its conquest by a king of Suru in Ladakh, called Khri Sultan, who held the main valley as far down as Tantari at the mouth of Balesa Nala. On account of the occupation of the place by the Tibetans the name of the town was changed to Bhotnagar most likely by the Hindu inhabitants of the hills.

18. *JPHS.*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

19. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, VIII, 48, 554.

20. *Ibid.*,

Khri Sultan's rule was mild and conciliatory, but he is said to have become homesick and returned to his country. The rulers of Suru and Kartse near Kargil in Ladakh were called Khri-rgyalpo, and it seems to have been one of these gyalpos (kings) mentioned in the event which probably took place during the 8th or 9th century. A.H. Francke says in his *History of Western Tibet*, "The word Khri, meaning 'throne' is pronounced Tri, and the Tri Sultans mentioned in the Kashtwar history corresponds exactly to the Khri Sultans of Ladakh history. These chiefs resided at Suru and Kartse, and called themselves Khri-rgyalpo (throne-king) before they became Muhammadans in the 15th century."²¹

This invasion of Ladakh by a Tibetan chief seems to be a part of a large invasion of the region of the Middle Himalayas by Tibetans. Kashmir was similarly invaded by the Chinene is A.D. 713 as the result of which, for many years afterwards Kashmir continued to pay tribute to China. The kingdom of Brahmapura, (Brahmaur), later Chamba, was similarly invaded by the Kiras, probably Tibetans, in about the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Kulu, Lahul and Spiti had also, been for some centuries subject to Tibettan rulers of Ladakh.

In the sequence of chronology the next event mentioned is the invasion of the valley, this time from the south, by a trading community named Punjsasi. These people were from the Punjab and they used to visit the valley for medicinal herbs and other hill products, such as dried apricots, which they received in return for their goods. The name of the dried aprieot-so commonly used in the hills-is 'Kishta' in the local dialect, from which the word 'Kashatwar' is derived according to local etymology, meaning "the place of dried apricots." Some of the Panjsasi traders settled down in the valley and mingled with other tribes with whom they lived peacefully for some time. But after some time differences crept up between them and the already settled tribes of Rotars and Ganais and ultimately hospilities broke out, Panjsasis, who were adept in warfare, killed a number of their rivals and compelled the rest of them to submit. Yet now and then hostilities were revived. The Panjsasis concentrated their settlements around the Hodri or Tantari spring living always in dread of reprials from the Rotari and Ganais, and hence carried their arms always with them.²²

Kashtwar was in throes of such an internal disunity and the tribal struggle that it was invaded by an outsider Raja who established here

21. Francke, A.H., *Western Tibet*, p. 48.

22. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ; Hoshmatullah, *op. bit.* pp. 139-148.

for the first time a tiny kingdom by defeating the powerful Panjsasis and subduing the local chiefs, viz, Ranas, Thakurs and Rathis. The name of this invader from outside was KAHAN PAL, according to the *Vansavali*, though most probably it was 'Sen' and not 'Pal', as the former suffix was taken by a long succession of his descendants who claim to belong to a branch of the 'Sena' royal family of Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal. The tradition jumbles up facts about the origin of Kahan and makes him Raja of Gaur-Bengal, a *talluqa* of Ujjain, and traces his descent from Raja Vikramaditya through Raja Bhoj, Hari Pal, Dyanik Pal and Manak Pal.²³ This, however, is not supported by facts. The *Vansavalis* of at least four of the Hill States put forward a claim to common origin, from the Rajput Rajas of Gaur in Bengal. These states are Mandi, Suket, Keonthal and Kashtwar²⁴. The Suket Gazetteer states that on the expulsion of the ruling family from Bengal by the Muhammadans about A.D. 1200, they fled to the Punjab and, in the third generation, found a refuge in the hills to the East of Satluj. Of three brothers who then migrated to the hills, one founded Suket, the second Keonthal and the third Kishtwar. Though the name of the founder of Kishtwar does not agree with that of the *Vansavali* but the claim to be descended from the Rajas of Gaur is distinctly made. However, the separation of the family from the parent stem in Bengal seems to have taken place at a much earlier period as is stated in the historical tradition of Suket and Keonthal. In the Kishtwar annals there are no dates given for any of the earlier reign, and hence it is not possible to fix a date for the reign of any Raja, previous to that of Rai Singh in A.D. 1547. Farishta²⁵ refers to Kashtwar in connection with invasion of Kashmir on that country in this year. The *Vansavali* also records this invasion and further informs that there had been 28 Rajas in succession before this invasion which took place in the reign of the 29th, Rai Singh. If we allow 25 years to a reign, we are led to conclude that the state may have been founded in about 850 A.D. If, however, we allow for the probability of some names dropped out of the *Vansavali* in the process of copying, a thing which has invariably happened in the *Vansavalis* of Hill chiefs, the date may be put back even to about 775 A.D.

Before the foundation of small kingdom, the valley was parcelled among petty local rulers who bore the titles of Rana or Thakur.

23. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ; Hashmatullah, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

24. *Simla Gazetteer*, 1905, p. 5 ; *Gazetteer of Mandi and Suket* p. 6

25. Farishta, Briggs' trans., 1910, Vol. IV, pp. 500, 522, 528.

The common tradition and folklore of the people make frequent references to such chiefs. The title of Rana was in vogue in Nagsun and the side valleys of Sursur and B'hojwah, and tradition of their rule there is common. However, in the Chandrabhaga valley the title of Thakur was in use and the *Rajatarangini* bears several references to the Thakurs of Chandrabhaga valley, in the 11th and 12th centuries²⁶. No Rana tradition exists in this region. Kalhana states that two of these Thakurs supported Bhikshachara, grandson of Harsha, in his attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir.

These local Ranas, Thakurs and Rathis and tribes of Rotars, Ganais and Panjsasis were fighting among themselves when Khan Pal arrived on the scene, probably about 775 A.D., with a small band of followers, in order to conquer a kingdom for himself. He penetrated into the Chandrabhaga valley and reached a place called Kandani, some 20 kilometres south of Kishtwar, and there he halted for sometime to mature his scheme of capturing the valley. The traditions narrates that as the Panjsasis, the most powerful tribe in the valley, always carried their arms with them, it was not possible to subdue them in a direct fight. It was, therefore, decided to obtain the help of a shrewd woman of the Panjsasi tribe. In return for a large bribe she consented to give the helpful information. She told that once a year on a certain day in the month of Phagun (February-March) a great festival was held at the Hoderi spring, when the Panjsasi used to lay aside their arms, and putting on fine clothes, they gathered at the spring for certain religious rituals. Khan Pal patiently waited for that day which was yet three months ahead. He used this interval to make all necessary preparations for the capture of the valley. On the night preceding the day of the festival he advanced with his small force from Kandani and laid an ambush, in spite of the fact that snowfall took place. In the morning the Panjsasi, according to their custom, assembled in fine clothes and without their arms, and thus fell an easy prey to Khan Pal's aggression. After smashing them he subdued the other tribes, took possession of the place and proclaimed himself king. He then took to the extension of his kingdom by leading his force across the Chandrabhaga at Sihghat, near Kandani, and subdued the tribes of Kontwara and Udil, on the right bank and returned to Kashtwar by Bandarakot, at the junction of the Maru-Wardwan river with the Chenab. Thereafter he built a palace for himself on the ridge where the fort now stands. No other events of his

26. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, VIII, pp. 548, 554.

reign have been recorded. He probably ruled from 775 to 800 A.D.,

Raja *Kahn Pal* had three sons. *Gandharb Sen* being the eldest ascended the *gaddi* and ruled wisely and peacefully for fourteen years. His younger brother Madan Sen received a jagir from him where he founded a village which is now called Mata. The youngest brother, Dev Sen, also conquered two villages and ruled there from Madawa. All the brothers seem to have lived at peace with one another.²⁷

Gandhar Sen was followed on the *gaddi* by Maha Sen, Ram Sen, Kam Sen, Madan Sen, Brahma Sen and Udhēt Dev, one after the other. *Udhāt Dev* is probably mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as Uttam Raja, who was, along with several other hill chiefs, called in the Kashmir court by King Kalasa in 1087-88 A.D. After him the *gaddi* was occupied by Mata or Patia Dev and Ganga Dev one after the other. The latter ruler conquered Polar and Charji regions and annexed these to his kingdom. Then followed one after the other Gaur Dev, Sang Dev, Rakh Dev, Inder Dev (Anand Dev), Autar Dev and Bhag Dev about whom nothing is known.

RAI DEV was the next ruler of note concerning whom an interesting incident is told. His minister attacked Padar and annexed its territory upto Jhar-Kudail. He also extracted twenty thousand rupees from the Raja of Padar and drove away thousands of goats and sheep and Chanar.²⁸ Raja Dev Rai proved a greedy exacting and cruel ruler and offended the petty hill chief who had ruled the tract before the advent of Rajas. These rulers in the Chandrabhaga valley near Kashtwar bore the title of Thakur. After their subjection they aspired for a long time to regain their independence, and used to rise in revolt against the Raja now and then. An event took place in Kashtwar during the reign of Rai Dev, by a rising of the Rotars or Rathis, who had by this time gained strength by enlisting the support of these chiefs.

The revolt was successful, and the Raja was driven out of his capital, and his escape having been out off through Bandar Kot and Sihghat, he with a few followers sought an asylum on the mountain of Gogan Baran, overlooking the plateau on the east side where he remained for a year. His people brought under cultivation a small portion of land which down to the present day bears the name of Rai Dev Tahavan.

27. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* (Urdu), 1973, p. 34.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

When all his endeavours to re-conquer his capital had failed, the Raja at last determined to resort to the stratagem which had proved so successful in the time of his ancestor, Kahn Pal. Accordingly, he descended to the plateau along with his own people in the dead of night, just before the yearly festival in Phagun, and took up their position in ambush around the Hoderi spring. In the morning the people thronged to the place, came unarmed as usual and were suddenly attacked and overcome. Raja Rai Dev once again occupied the region and resumed his position as Raja of Kishtwar.

He was followed by Gur Dev and Ugar Dev one after the other. The latter ruler added Sarthal or Sarthali region to his kingdom and granted the village of Ugaral in *sasan* or freehold to the temple of Atharan Buji goddess (Ashtabhuji) in that quarter²⁹. According to Sayyid Najamuddin, he added Sasar to Kashtwar. Soon after he was compelled to flee his country due to the revolt of his cousin Boldar Dev and to seek asylum in Kashmir the Raja of which place gave him jagir of Rupavan³⁰.

Now *Boldar Dev* became the Raja. He was succeeded to power by *Lachhman Dev*, his son. He conquered Dachin in the Maru Vardman valley, and granted lands to brahmins in Palmar, which are to this day called Lachhbata or Lachhmatha³¹. He is known as a kind ruler.

SANGRAM SINGH : Son and successor of Lachhman Dev. was the first to assume the suffix of 'Singh' which seems to have been becoming popular among the ruling classes during the middle ages. This change from earlier suffixes to 'Singh' in the name of the ruling families or many of the hill states took place in the 15th and 16th centuries, but in the case of Kashtwar it appears, to have been at an unusually early period, probably soon after A.D. 1400. Sangram Singh was the first of the Kashtwar Rajas to assume the new suffix, which was then coming into use.³²

He conquered Nagsun in the main Chandrabhaga Valley above Kashtwar, and annexed, it to his dominions, which was upto that time, as tradition asserts, under the rule of its own Ranas. "The conquest of these districts one after another is in keeping with the history of the other hill states as regards the manner in which each of them was gradually consolidated from a small beginning, and

29. Sheojji Dar, Pandit, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* (Persian) fol. 27.

30. Ishrat Kashmiri, *op cit.*, p. 37.

31. Sheoji Dar, *op cit.*, fol. 27.

32. *HPHS.V*, ol. II, p. 534.

through many centuries of warfare.³³ All the territory thus annexed was taken from the Ranas and Thakurs who continued to rule in the more inaccessible valleys, Nagsun, the district last annexed, adjoined another district in the Chandrabhaga Valley, called Padar, which from early times was under Chamba, though ruled by its own Ranas till A.D. 1664, who were then replaced by regular state officials and granted jagirs, which they long continued to hold. Even till recently their ancient status was recognised though they are now only common farmers. Sangram Singh gave a grant of land to a Brahmin named Sangram where the latter founded a village, named Sangram Nath, after his own name. Besides this village is the well known 'Hasti Kund' spring which has been attributed a mythical origin³⁴.

Sangram Singh was succeeded by Sangar Singh, Magan Singh, Deva Singh, Firoz Singh and Narain Singh of whom little is known. During Narain Singh's reign an army was sent to Malna in Saraj which was reduced. The people then presented a golden orange to the Raja as a *bazar*, and even afterwards on special festivals it became the custom for the people of Kashtwar to offer a similar present to the Raja. He granted Barshola to the Brahmins and built a *Thakurdwara* there. This is known as Lachhmi Narain temple. The Raja had ordered not to arrest any person who took asylum in this temple.³⁵

Salhan Singh succeeded his father and in his reign Surur and Bhonjwah, as far as the Kali Nai, dividing the latter valley from Balesa, were conquered. On his way back the Raja founded the village of Salhana above Kandani, and named it after himself.

(c) The Period of Foreign Invasions :

RAI SINGH c. A.D. 1525-1550 : With the reign of Raja Rai Singh we are brought into touch with contemporary Muhammadan history, and from this time onward we have several references to the events in Kishtwar in contemporary Persian chronicles which give its history a variable reliability. Kashmir at that time was under the rule of the Muhammadan Sultans who succeeded the Rajput dynasty in A.D. 1339, and held power till expelled by Akbar in A.D. 1586. The ruler of Kashmir at the time of Raja Rai Singh was Sultan Nazuk, A.D. 1541-52, and the chronicle

33. J. Hutchison and J. Ph., Vogel, "History of Kishtwar State,- JPHS., Vol. IV, No. 1, 1916, p. 36.

34. Sheoji Dar, Pandit, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

35. Ishrat Kashmiri, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

records an invasion of Kashtwar during his reign, which is also described by the historian Ferishta. This invasion took place in A.D. 1547, and the object seems to have been to conquer the country. The Kashmir army was under the command of one Mirza Haider Doghlat,³⁶ who seems to have come from Kashgar and then settled in Kashmir and afterwards usurped the throne. Mirza Haider led the invading force in person and his second in command was one Koka Mir, whom Ferishta names 'Bandgan Koka'. The army crossed the Marbal Pass and descended into the Kasher Khol Nala, where the Kashtwar army was encamped to oppose them, the account of the expedition in Ferishta is as follows :

"Shortly afterwards Mirza Haidar proceeded for the purpose of attacking the country of Kashtwar and deputed Bandgan Koka, with other officers, in command of the advance guard of army. This detachment made one march from Charlu to Dote, a distance of three days' journey, came up with the Kashtwar army and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Neither army could cross, and a sharp discharge of arrows and musketry was kept up, though without much effect. Some stragglers from Miza Haider's camp lost their road and joined the advance at Wary ; but upon their arrival there, a violent gale of wind came on, and raised the dust of the whole plain. At this moment a small detachment of the Kashtwar army then in the town, taking advantage of the circumstance, rallied out and attacked the invaders. Bandgan Koka and twenty-five officers of note were killed, and the detachment made the best of its way to join Mirza Haider.³⁷

The Kashtwar chronicle give a graphic account of the incident. On hearing of the advance of the Kashmir army the Raja became much alarmed and took counsel with the officials as to the best way of offering resistance. Everything seemed hopeless, when an old woman, who had the reputation of being a witch, came forward and undertook to avert the danger single-handed. With a lance in her hand she went to a point on the road, about a mile west of Mughal Maidan, where the precipice descends straight to the river bank and the road along its face was a mere track ; it is narrow even now. This was the only way by which the invaders could advance and only in single file. Concealing herself in a recess

36. Mirza Haider Doghlat was a cousin of Babar, and is the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Cf. *Ferishta* Briggs, 1908, Vol. IV, pp. 500-502. Also *Akbarnama*, Bevoledge Vol. I, Chap. XXV, p. 348 and pp. 351, 355, 359-60.

37. *Ferishta*. Eng. trans, bn Briggs, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 500.

which to this day is called Bhojapala, she awaited their approach, and with her spear pushed each man, as he came opposite to her, over the precipice. Owing to the nature of the ground those behind were unaware of what had happened till many had been killed; and then the army was thrown into confusion and had to retreat, being harassed all the way by the Kashtwar forces which occupied the heights above under the command of Wazir Narain Padiar. So many were killed that ever since the place has been called Mughal Maidan or Mughal Mizar.³⁸

The defeat of the invading Kashmer army has been given in another tradition differently. The vanguard of the invading force under Bandgan Koka Muhammad Magre, Mirza Muhammad and Yahia Raina arrived in Chhatru, a place about a day's march from Kishtwar. But the army could not cross the river so it retreated to Dhar. It so happened that a great storm overtook them. Taking advantage of this situation the forces of Kashtwar which were quite familiar with the geographical features of the region, attacked the invaders and killed Koka along with 25 of his men. The remaining invaders retreated in haste to escape destruction. Mirza Haider gave up the idea of conquering Kashtwar and went back from Chhetru. The Kashtwar army under the command of Narain Padiar stoned the retreating army from the heights thereby causing much harm to the invading Mughals. That place therefore came to be called 'Mughal Mazar' which later changed into Mughal Maidan.³⁹

VIJAY SINGH. c. A.D. 1550—1570. This Raja conquered Saraj, on the right bank of the Clenab above Doda, and built a fort and a village which he named Vijay. Afterwards he went to Badhat in Surur quell to a rebellion probably among the Ranas and Thakurs, and was treacherously attacked at night and killed. His son, Bhadur Singh, escaped and fled to Kashtwar, where he took refuge among the Ganai. The officials, however heard of his presence and installed him as Raja, after which they brought the rebels to submission.

BAHADUR SINGH. c. A.D. 1570—1588. The year of his accession is uncertain. His reign, however, was marked by the incursion of Chaks from Kashmir into Kashtwar valley. This invasion took place in A.D. 1572 under the command of Ali Shah Chak king of Kashmir. Bahadur Singh realised that resistance was useless so he agreed to become tributary and gave his sister, Shankar

38. Sheoji Dar, Pandit, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

39. Ishrat Kashmiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

Dei, in marriage to Yakub Shah Chak, grandson of the king. This invasion is also mentioned by Ferishta and the country is called Gunwar⁴⁰. Yakub Shah Chak succeeded his grandfather in A.D. 1586, and made a brave resistance to the Mughals under Akbar's generals on their invasion of Kashmir but was defeated and fled to Kishtwar. The story of his unsuccessful resistance to the Mughals is related in detail in the *Fourth Chronicle* of Kashmir and also in Ferishta, Akbar's General, Qasim Khan.⁴¹ Invaded Kashmir, whereupon Yakub Shah Chak retired to Kishtwar. The Mughal army entered Srinagar in triumph in the month of Kartik of the Saka year 1508 (A.D. 1586). Yakub, Shah however, returned from Kishtwar and attacked the city but was repulsed and discord broke out among his followers. He had therefore to retire again to Kishtwar. In the following spring (A.D. 1587) he reappeared in Kashmir and commenced a guerilla warfare, keeping to the mountains and harassing the Mughal army in the valley. Qasim Khan could not succeed in subduing him. Akbar therefore, sent Mirza Yusuf Khan who compelled Yakub Shah to submit after two year's pursuit⁴². Ferishta states that he was sent to Delhi where Akbar enrolled him and his father, Yusuf Shah Chak, who had been for time in Delhi, among the nobles of his Court, and granted them estates in the province of Bihar. Unfortunately there is no reference to a Raja of Kishtwar in either authority. The Kishtwar tradition states that Yakub Shah Chak died in Kashtwar about A.D. 1588 and was buried at Sirkot on the Chaugan. His widow, Shankar Dei, continued to reside in Kashtwar and, in memory of her husband, she had water-course constructed from the Gogau Baran stream to the town, and a masonry tank made, called Darang Vajai near the temple Sri Nila Kanth. She also constructed another water-course from Kani Nag to the village of Zewarah.

Bahadur Singh must have died some time in A.D. 1588. He was succeeded by his son.

PRATAP SINGH or Bhup Singh, c. A.D. 1588—1616
Partap ascended the *gaddi* of his father under the title of Bhup Singh. In his reign, probably A.D. 1606, an army was sent by Emperor Jahangir to conquer Kishtwar, under the command of

40; Briggs, *Ferishta*, Eng. trans., 1910, Vol. IV, p. 522. Ferishta gives the name of Kahmiri king as Shah Chak, whereas other authorities have Khan Chak.

41. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans. by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 379, No. 59.

42. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 346, No. 35; Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Ahmad Khan, Dilawar Khan and Mirza Muhammad Khan. From the passage in Jahangir's memoirs⁴³, in which this expedition is referred to, it appears that of other members of the deposed Chak ruling family, Gohar had taken refuge in Kishtwar. It was intended to capture them and hence Mughal force was deployed against Kishtwar. This army crossed the Marbal Pass and reached Singpur, but on the way down the valley it was met by the Kishtwar forces and defeated.⁴⁴ Many of the Mughals were killed by stones rolled down the mountain slopes, among them being Mirza Muhammad Khan, one of the commanders, and probably related to the Emperor. On hearing of her husband's death his widow broke out into great lamentations and took an oath to avenge herself on those who killed him by besmearing her hands in their blood, and cast the very dust of Kashtwar into the Chandrabhaga.⁴⁵ Accordingly she supplicated Jahangir for help and he despatched 10,000 men under Zu-ul-Qadr and Dilwar Khan to destroy Kashtwar. The widow accompanied the imperial troops which marched for the capital. At the head of the *jhula* or swing bridge at Bandar Kot, a furious bottle raged for "twenty days and nights" and finally the Raja of Kishtwar treachrously broke down the bridge so that imperial army could not advance further.⁴⁶ The Mughals therefore settled down on a plain called Brinj Bogh, built a fort, made a tank, laid out a garden and planted trees. Popular tradition asserts that they remained there for fourteen years, but according to the *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri* it was only four months and ten days.⁴⁷ In an attempt to cross the river by a rope some sixty Mughals got drowned.⁴⁸ They then bribed the villagers of Puchal, Pahi and Holar to help them to throw a *jhula* across the river and under cover of night Jalal, son of Dilawar Khan reached the left bank along with a contingent and advanced to the Chaugan. A battle ensued in which the Kashtwar army was defeated and the Raja fled to Bhadrawah. Earlier, he had sent away secretly his family to the care of Jaswal who was in sympathy with Bhup Singh as the latter had married a daughter each of Sangram, Raja of Jammu and Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu.⁴⁹

The widow of Mirza Muhammad Khan took up her abode on

43. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri* (Persian text), Lucknow, pp. 298-99.

44. Drew, F., *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 119 note.

45. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

46. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri op. cit.*, p. 299.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

the Chaugan for three months, and began to lay waste the country, The people then went and begged her to put a stop to the destruction of life and property. She replied that they must devise some way of relieving her from the vow she had taken, to cast even the dust of the place into the river. Finally, after consultation it was agreed that tank should be dug near the grave of Yakub Shah Chak and the earth thrown into the Chandrabhaga, and thus she was released from vow. The tank has ever since been called Sirkot.⁵⁰ The Mughals then returned to Kashmir and Raja Bhup Singh returned from Bhadrawah and died about A.D. 1616.

Gur Singh, A.D. 1616. In the year following this Raja's accession, which was the 12th year of Jahangir's reign, there was another Mughal invasion. The state had doubtless been made tributary previous to this, but the Raja trusting to the inaccessible character of the country, was unwilling to submit. After the first conquest Nasarullah Arab had been left behind, along with a few other *mansabdars*. to guard the possession. The Mughal officer, seems to have disregarded the Raja and antagonised the *Zamindars* by exactions and over-bearing manner. Consequently, the offended people took up arms against him under the leadership of the new Raja, burnt the bridge, surrounded the Mughal camp and killed the commander and all his followers. Jahangir received this intelligence while he was sojourning at the Ver-Nag spring⁵¹. This happened about the middle of the year 1619 A.D. Dilawar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, was therefore, again sent to subdue the state. He was informed that in the event of failure he would lose his *togh*, "flag of rank" and his *nagara* or "salute" (drum) and be otherwise punished.⁵² Frightened at this treat the Mughal governor took every precaution to ensure success, He led a three-pronged attack-the one column under Dilawar Khan himself came by the Marbal Pass and Singpur, the second under Jamal Khan took the road by Maru Wardwan, and the third under Jalal Khan, son of Dilawar Khan, and Ali Malik made a circuit by the Braribal Pass and Doda⁵³. These three armies then concentrated at Bandar Kot near the capital and encamped on the right bank of Chandrabhaga. The Raja of Jammu, Sangram, was also ordered to mobilise his forces on Kishtwar through Jammu hills.⁵⁴

50. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

51. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

52. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

On their arrival the Raja sent Dilawar Khan an insulting message to the following effect :- "If out of enmity you have made war to exact tribute, hawks, and saffron, I will send them to you. But if you have come to subdue the country you will gain nothing but dust. Earlier what Mirza Muhammad Khan, Ahmad Beg, Koka Mir and Mirza Haider had gained except death and defeat ! Since the time of Akbar's conquest of Kashmir till today, for twelve years since coronation, several attempts have been made to subdue Kishtwar, but without success. You will therefore be wise to have pity on your men and turn towards Kashmir."⁵⁵

On receiving this letter Dilawar Khan was incensed and ordered a speedy assault on the town with 500 men. It was easily captured and the Raja was taken prisoner and conducted to Dilawar Khan who sent him to the Delhi court via Kashmir. The city was plundered, temples were pulled down and the surrounding country laid waste by the Mughals, and the territory devastated. The two sons of Gur Singh, viz. Jagat Singh and Bhagwan Singh, fled away for safety. The administration of the state was entrusted to a powerful Pathan noble, named Ibrahim Khan. This happened in A.D. 1618. On coming before the Emperor the Raja gave in his humble submission and entreated his clemency and, on his agreeing to pay the *chha-eai*, or six annas per rupee of revenue as tribute and send his *dothain* or second son to Delhi as a hostage, he was after a year set at liberty and returned to his state. Bhagwan Singh, his younger son, who was an accomplished youth, was sent to Delhi as hostage.⁵⁶

About eight years later Jahangir died and Shah Jahan ascended the throne (A.D. 1628). Gur Singh came with the usual tribute which the Emperor, probably then in Kashmir, accepted, and recognized Jagat Singh as *Tika* or heir-apparent. Gur Singh was much delighted and distributed a lakh of rupees, kine and clothing among the needy. The Raja, on returning to his capital built good houses and a fine *deorhi* or enterroom, 27 feet long by 18 feet broad. He also built a palace at Bandar Kot on the Chinab.

In A.D. 1629 when Shah Jahan led an expedition to the Dakhan Bhagwan Singh, son of Gur Singh accompanied him alongwith other tributary chiefs and attracted the notice of the Emperor by his bravery and was rewarded on the return of army to Agra. Gur Singh died in A.D. 1629 and was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh.

Jagat Singh, A.D. 1629 : soon after his accession Jagat Singh invaded Bhadrawah, and in his absence a force from Balor

55. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

56. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

(Basohil) under Raja Bhupat Pal and an officer named Kantak, probably a member of the Ballauria family, advanced upon Kishtwar and captured it. Jagat Singh at once returned and made every effort to recover his State, but in the end was defeated and killed. This invasion is confirmed by the Balor annals which state that Bhupat Pal conquered Kishtwar and brought from there the *linga* of Nilakanth which is still worshipped in Basohli. He is said to have planted "reversed cedars" in Kishtwar.⁵⁷

Bhagwan Singh, A.D. 1642—On hearing of his brother's death Bhagwan Singh approached the Emperor and obtained from him an army of 1000⁵⁸ men to enable him to recover the State. On his departure Bhagwan Singh was required to leave some one as a hostage and he named one Ghias-ud-din, who was accepted⁵⁹. Two brothers, Khattris by caste, Jewan Sen and Kahn Sen, were sent with him to help in the administration and they enjoyed the rank of Khwaja⁶⁰, probably an honourable distinction at the Mughal court. Their descendants still reside in Kashtwar⁶¹. The Mughal army advanced from Kashmir by the Marbal Pass and having defeated the Basohli force captured the leader, named Kantak. He was beheaded and his head used for football on the Chaugan⁶². Bhagwan Singh was then installed as Raja, his brother having probably died without issue. To commemorate the defeat of the Balauria troops he instituted a *mela*, called *Kantak Jatra*, to be held yearly on the Chaugan⁶³.

After this the Mughal army was sent back to Kashmir with presents to the Emperor. Bhagwan Singh is said to have added Ramban to the State.

Maha Singh, A.D. 1661—This Raja was also known by the name of Mahajan. He is said to have been just and generous, wise and learned and also a poet. Some of his compositions are still extant. He was also well read in the Hindu *shastras* and was superior to the Rajas of his time. During his reign Kashtwar enjoyed a great measure of prosperity, and the capital had a large population. The following incident is told of him. One year there was no rain

57. For detail refer to the chapter on Balaor-Basohli State.

58. Sheoji Dar op. cit., p. 36, has "twelve thousand".

59. *JPHS*, op. cit. p. 40. The state hostage was usually a member of the royal family : this seems to have been exception to the rule ; *Ibid*

60. Sheoji Dar, op. cit., p. 36.

61. Drew, F.; *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 119. Drew has : Jinna Pal and Kahan Pal.

62. Sheoji Dar op. cit. p. 36.

63. *Ibid*,

and the country suffered from a severe famine. As a remedy for the distress the Raja proceeded to a place called Chauki Khalawa to do obeisance to the God Nilkanth (*i.e.* Siva). With his face to the east he recited a poem composed by himself in praise of deity, and describing the miserable condition of his subjects. The prayer was heard, and as soon as the Raja had finished his eulogy rain fell in torrents⁶⁴. The Raja then returned to the capital and fed Brahmans as a token of gratitude.

Some time after his accession Aurangzeb ordered the Vakil of Kishtwar at the Mughal Court to send for the Raja and meantime the State hostage, Ghias-ud-din, was thrown into prison. Abdul-Qasim, his son, at once set off to Kishtwar to summon the Raja. The Raja however, did not comply with the order; but to appease the Emperor's wrath he agreed to build a mosque and employ *mullahs* from Kashmir with a grant of land for their maintenance. A large number of civil appointments were also given to Muhammadans. Abdul Qasim then returned to Delhi and reported all these things to the Emperor. However, Jaya Singh, the eldest son, was also sent to Delhi and was introduced to the Emperor. He was afterwards permitted to return home, and was welcomed with great manifestations of joy. Ghias-ud-din continued to act as hostage for the State and on his death one Muhabat Khan was appointed. Mahajan had three sons, named respectively, Jaya Singh, Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh.

Jaya Singh, A.D. 1674—His father abdicated in his favour, and on his accession he made his younger brother, Ram Singh, Wazir of the State, and appointed Sirdar Singh to the command of the army. He issued orders not to permit any Muhammadan visitors to remain longer than a day in the territory failing which they would be punished. Ram Singh was sent to Delhi, probably as a hostage, in company with Abdul-Qasim, whose father had acted as hostage for the State during Bhagwan Singh's reign. The Raja's youngest brother, Sirdar Singh seems to have become discontented and retired to Kashmir. Unable to obtain his object he then proceeded to Delhi and was introduced to the Emperor. When Jaya Singh heard of this he at once sent his own son, Kirat Singh, to Delhi. Kishtwar was then very prosperous and had 4000 inhabitants.

During this reign a famous Muhammadan saint, named Sayid Muhammad Farid-ud-din Qadiri, came from Baghdad. He was a descendant of Abdul-Qadir of that place and undertook his journey in consequence of a dream in which he was told to go and

64, Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, page 38.

preach in Kishtwar. He reached India towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign and remained some years in Agra and Delhi. On finally arriving at Kishtwar he took up his abode, along with his four companions, in the house near the Lachmi-Narain Temple, which is now the site of his Zirat or tomb and a famous place of pilgrimage. Raja Jaya Singh is said to have embraced Islam on seeing the miracles performed by the saint and received the name of Bakhtiyar Khan. He soon afterwards died and was succeeded by his son Kirat Singh.

Jaya Singh seems to have been the last Hindu ruler of Kishtwar. Sheoji Dar writes that it was commonly believed that the Nawab (governor) of Kashmir forcibly converted his son, Kirat Singh to Islam on day of Id. 1099 Hijri and renamed him Sa'adat Yar Khan. Jaya Singh could not tolerate this and he died due to this shock⁶⁵.

KIRAT SINGH C.A.D. 1681—1728.

Kirat Singh's reign witnessed the forcible conversion of the administration as well as a large part of the Hindu population. As stated earlier, Kirat Singh had been compelled to embrace Islam unwillingly. Aurangzeb recognised him Raja of Kishtwar probably on condition of his conversion. He also appointed his uncle Ram Singh, as Wazir. The latter evidently had become a Muhammadan, during his residence at the Mughal court and received the title of Dindar Khan. Aurangzeb's object of forcing the appointment of Dindar Khan (Ram Singh) was soon achieved. Some years after the accession of Kirat Singh, the Wazir of the State, presented a petition to the emperor in which he stated that his nephew (Raja Kirat Singh) molested him for having become a Muhammadan, and entreated the proselitising Emperor either to depose the Raja or compell him to embrace Islam. Consequently Kirat Singh was advised by Abdul Qasim to become Musalman. Another account refers to his forcible conversion in the Shah Hamadan Ziarat at Srinagar in 1687. Aurangzeb conferred upon him the name of Saadat Yar Khan,⁶⁶ and granted three lakhs of rupees, an elephant and sixty thousand *Kharwars* of grain⁶⁷. He had to sign an agreement which imposed on him the following conditions: (1) that no tax should be put upon Muhammadans and no one should be

65. *Ibid.*

66. Drew, F. *op. cit.*, p. 119.

67. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*. Eng. tr., 1909, vol. I.p. 279n. *Kharwar* a weight equal to 10 maunds.

molested for embracing Islam ; (2) that Muhammadan worship should be performed and the 'Id' festival duly observed ; (3) that Hindus should be oppressed and kine killed,⁶⁸. In addition Hindus (*Kafirs*) were debarred from wedding Muslim girls and arrangements were to be made for adjudication of disputes between Muslim according to *Shara* and *qazi*.⁶⁹ The conditions were engrossed in a document which was signed by the Raja in the presence of witnesses, and the same was made over to Abdul Qadir probably for transmission to the emperor. This officer was appointed *qazi* to administer justice in the principality.

Probably these transaction took place at Srinagar where Kirat Singh had been summoned. On hearing of what had happened there the people of Kishtwar raised the standard of revolt and massacred all the Muhammadans on whom they could lay hands. Inayat Ullah, son of Abdul Qadir saved his life by taking refuge with Sayyid Shah Faridud Din. The governor of Kashmir at once sent a punitive force, and the rebellion was suppressed. Kirat Singh then returned to Kishtwar, a proselytised ruler, and a number of people were forced to accept the new faith.

In 1717, the shaikhul Islam demanded the hand of Bhup-Dei, Kirat Singh's sister, who was escorted to Delhi by Mian Muhammad Khan, his younger brother, and was duly married to Prince Farrukhsiyar. The Mian was given a *Khilat* and also received a jagir of eight villages in Kashmir⁷⁰. The fact of this marriage has been mentioned by Mr. Irvine thus : "Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill Raja of Kishtwar, entered, the harem on the 24th Rajab, A.N. 1131 (3rd July, 1717)."⁷¹ Another authority refers to the 'Rajput princess to be a "gentile" woman, that is, not Muhammadan. She is said to have become his consort or empress, and this connection caused much scandals among the Muslims, and was the chief reason why Farrukhsiyar was deposed and murdered. She is said to have been a "heathen" women and like most of the Hindu women married to Muslim princes, adhered to the Hindu faith and performed Hindu rituals in her palace. Even the rulers of Kishtwar, though forced to embrace Islam outwardly, had retained their reverence for their old faith. Tegh Singh, the last ruling chief of

68. *HPHS.*, Vol. II p. 654.

69. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Desh*, p. 265.

70. The names of villages were : Habalshi, Agahran, Tunganpura, Shustargan, Gujaram, Kalipura, Pahalgam and Tarazupah. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

71. *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIII, 1904, "The Later Mughals" by Irskine, p. 360.

Kishtwar though a Musalman, entertained the services of a *purohit* i.e., family priest and even issued a grant of land to him ; and it is probable that this custom had continued unbroken in the family in time of his predecessors, who took Hindu names also along with the official Muslim names, the latter being less pronounced.

Kirat Singh had a long reign of 47 years and was at last assassinated by a Kishtwari noble, Krishna Padhiar at Gulab Bagh. This Chief belonged to the great Thakura family of Kishtwar, the original rulers of the region, "and we may assume that the crime was committed out of resentment against the Raja for abandoning the faith of his ancestors."⁷² The Padhiar Chief asserted control over the State for some times, but was defeated and finally slain in about 1728, by Inayat Ullah, son of Abdul Qasim with the help of a large army from Kashmir. Then Kirat Singh's son, Amluk Singh, was installed as Raja.

AMLUK SINGH C.A.D. 1728—1771.

Amluk Singh occupied the *gaddi* with the title of Saadatmand Khan. There is a copper-plate title deed of his reign, dated Smavat 1795 (A.D. 1728) the year of his accession. He ruled for 43 years and died in 1771 A.D. He had four sons, Guman Singh, Mihar Singh, Sujan Singh and Dalel Singh. Guman Singh probably predeceased his father Mihar Singh, therefore, ascended the *gaddi*.

MIHAR SINGH C.A.D. 1771—

He adopted the Muhammadan title of Sa'idmand Khan. During his reign and that of a couple of his successors, the affairs of Kishtwar State miserably deteriorated due to family feud. Mihar Singh started qurrel with his brothers. It seems that some time during the previous reign Kishtwar had been subjected to Jammu by the expansionist policy of Maharaja Ranjit Dev. By alligning his interests with the Durranis, Ranjit Dev had acquired much importance in the hills. The Mughal power had come to an end in the Panjab by the cession of this province to Ahmad Shah Durrani by the Mughal Emperor in 1752. Now Ranjit Dev as ally of the Durrani became supreme in the territories between the Ravi and the Jehlam. By the time Ahmad Shah Durrani died in 1773, Ranjit Dev had conquered hill principalities of Bhadrwah, Basohli Jastrota and Kishtwar. So when differences appeared between Mihar Singh and his brother Sujan Singh, the latter left Kishtwar and went to Jammu⁷³ to seek Ranjit Dev's protection. Dalel Singh, the youngest

⁷², HPHS., p. 656.

⁷³. Drew, F. : *op. cit.*, p. 10.

brother, found a protege in Raja Raj Singh of Chamba, to which place he retired for succour.

The local annals state that Mihar Singh became insane immediately on his accession and his *rani*, Vilasamaji, used to run the administration of the State. Mihar Singh had no son, but his *rani* gave birth to a daughter, who was secretly exchanged for the son of a potter named Puha born on the same day. The boy was named Prithi Singh and recognised as Mihar Singh's son, though his parentage seems to have been generally known. Taking advantage of chaos prevailing in Kishtwar, the Raja of Basohli, Bijai Pal (1776—1806) a vassal of Jammu, invaded Kishtwar on behalf of Ranjit Dev, and Mihar Singh fled to Kashmir and the State was occupied by the Balaoria administrators,⁷⁴ For some years Kishtwar remained under Basohli. After some time Dalel Singh who had sought shelter at Chamba, another State within Ranjit Dev's sphere of influence, induced Rai Singh, thereof to lead an expedition against Kishtwar. The Raja of Chamba is said to have invaded Kishtwar at the head of twelve thousand men. The Balaoria armies ransacked the town, set fire to it and vacated. The Chief of Basohli is reported to have carried along with him the image of Sri Nilakanthji to Basohli. Rai Singh occupied Kishtwar without facing resistance and remained in its possession for six months and was forced to withdraw before superior Kashmir army which Mihar Singh brought with him.⁷⁵

The Chamba annals refer to these events but place these after the death of Ranjit Dev. These state that soon after the death of Ranjit Dev in 1782, his son and successor, Brijraj Dev of Jammu, conveyed the sovereignty of Bhadarwah and Kishtwar to Chamba, and on the instigation of Dalel Singh, brother of Mihar Singh, Raja Raj Singh of Chamba in 1786, sent an army under the nominal command of his son Jit Singh, then a boy of eleven years of age, to invade Kishtwar.⁷⁶ It marched through Bhadarwah and Bhalesa which had already been occupied by Chamba in 1783—84.⁷⁷ owning allegiance on the part of the Raja Fateh Pal and a Bhadarwah contingent accompanied Chamba armies to Kishtwar under Bhup Chan, brother of the Raja. On approach of the Chamba forces the Basohli armies retreated carrying away a large booty and the place was occupied, and the Chamba forces encamped on the

74. Sheoji Dar, op. cit., p. 40.

75. Ibid.

76. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 100 ; *Cat. of Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba*, p. 71 c.36 and c.38.

77. *Cat. of Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba*, c.

Chaugan and remained for six months. A letter is still extant in Chamba from the commander of the army, stating that on the capture of the town part of it was burnt, but on receipt of fresh orders from the Raja of Chamba, no further damage was done.⁷⁸

During the occupation of Kishtwar, one Kundan Singh, a cadet of the Bhadarwah family, who had been a refugee in Chamba and returned with the invading army, was installed as Raja. In one letter there is reference to a loan of Rs. 29,000, borrowed on his account from Raja Brijraj Dev, for repayment of which Raj Singh became security. Later he was found plotting against Chamba and was therefore deposed and made a prisoner, ultimately dying in Chamba.⁷⁹ On the other side, Sujan Singh, who was in Jammu, had been exerting himself on his brother's behalf, won Ranjit Dev's support and through him the sympathy of the Durrani governor of Kashmir. With about 500 men from Jammu he joined Mihar Singh in Kashmir. With another contingent from Kashmir they advanced on Kishtwar and the Chamba army retreated without show of arms. Mihar Singh died either on the way or soon after arrival and Sujan succeeded to the *gaddi* of Kishtwar.

Sujan Singh. C.A.D. 1782—

Sheoji Dar States that when the obsequies of Mihar Singh were being performed on the *Chaugan*. Sujan Singh attacked the party, killed his rivals and occupied the *gaddi*.⁸⁰ His son, Inayat-Ullah, who had gone to Jammu with him on his retiring from Kishtwar, was left at Jammu probably as a hostage, and with him was the son of the Raja of Bhadarwah. Some months afterwards, while Ranjit Dev was seriously ill he ordered his ministers to bestow *khilats* on the young princes and send them to their respective countries. Thereupon Inayat Ullah maliciously replied that being loyal to the king he would go only after his (Ranjit Deav's) demise. The Raja being annoyed at this reply, sent Inayat Ullah to prison in the Bahu fort.⁸¹

Sujan Singh wanted to establish good relations with the neighbouring States. He is said to have visited Chamba at the invitation of the Chamba chief with the same purpose. However, his reign was too short and he died after ten months. A party in the state placed Prithi Singh, the surreptitious son of Mihar Singh.

78. *H.P.H.S.* p. 657.

79. Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba, p. 70, c. 22 and C .26.

80. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.* p. 41.

81. *Ibid.*

on the *gaddi* and acknowledged him Raja. Within six months, however, Ajab or Ajit Singh, son of Mihar Singh,⁸² pushed him into the Chinab when both of them had gone to Bandara Kot on a picnic, and seized the State. On hearing of this Ranjit Dev, sent one of his officers, named Lal Dev, at the head of a force, who drove away the usurper and ruled the state for two years in a very tyrannical and oppressive manner. Ranjit Dev had meanwhile died and his son Brijraj Dev succeeded to the *gaddi* of Jammu Raj as a suzerain both of Kishtwar and Chamba. Incensed at the oppressions of the Jammu official the elders of Kishtwar determined to oust him and restore the rightful heir to the *gaddi*. The Kotwals of Saraj and Kainths surreptitiously succeeded in obtaining the release of Inayat Ullah Singh from his confinement in Bahu Fort and brought him back to Kishtwar and declared him Raja of the State in Saraj.⁸⁸

Inayatullah Singh. c. A.D. 1785—

Lal Dev, however, did not give up without resistance. He hurriedly gathered a force and advanced towards Saraj to capture the Raja. The concerted action of the offended people foiled his attempt and he was forced to withdraw to Jammu and Inayat ullah Singh occupied the *gaddi* of the State. His reign also was very short and lasted for some ten to twelve months. It was nevertheless eventful, and taking advantage of the discomfiture of Brijraj Dev of Jammu at the hands of the Sikh *misaldars*, he seems to have started independently, and even flouted the authority of Chamba, for we are told that he invaded Padar and Bhadarwah, both under Chamba and brought back much booty in cattle and property, which he distributed among his subjects, who had suffered greatly from the exactions of Lal Dev. But his pretensions for independence were curbed by the imposition of suzerainty over Kishtwar by the Durrani governor of Kashmir, Nawab Azad Khan who threatened with invasion by a large Afghan army. The Nawab sent a summons to the Raja to come and pay his tribute at Shahabad where the former was encamped on way to Kishtwar. The Raja forthwith repaired to Shahabad, accompanied a few of his trustworthy men, and tendered his submission before the governor in Sher Garhi Palace Srinagar. He was allowed to return after deputing a Vakil at Srinagar, named Maulvi Hafizullah.⁸⁴

82. *H.P.H.S.*, p. 658, has "Ajit Singh, son of Guman Singh.

83. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.* p. 41.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 42—43 ; *H.P.H.S.*, pp. 658—59.

On his accession Inayatullah Singh had appointed one Nuruddin as his *diwan* or minister. This officer, in collaboration with the Raja's own cousin, Gulab Singh, hatched a conspiracy against him. They administered him stupefying drugs and then persuaded him to accompany them to the tank of Sirkot at the end of the *chaugan* on the pretence of taking an airing. There, finding an opportunity, they attacked and killed him.⁸⁵ Gulab Singh then usurped the *gaddi* and made Nuruddin his Wazir. But their rule only lasted for forty days,⁸⁶ when the people rose against them, killed them and seated on the *gaddi*, Tagh Singh, the infant son of Inayatullah Singh.

Tegh Singh. c. 1786—87.

Muhammad Tegh Singh, also called Saifullah Khan, did not have an undisputed accession. A tradition current in one of the branches of the Kishtwar family, states that in early years of his accession a party intrigue was set up against him. He was displaced from power for a short time in favour of one of his distant cousins named Anwar Singh who was put in his place. He was, however, soon removed by poison and Tegh Singh was restored. Anwar Singh's brothers then fled to Chamba, taking with them his son, to whom was assigned a *jagir* in Himgari *pargana* by Raja Jit Singh. Some members of this family remained at Chamba whereas others went to live at Mirpur in Jammu Province.⁸⁷ This event finds no mention in the Kishtwar annals.

On Tegh Singh's accession, a certain Jatoji was appointed his Wazir. Soon after, the Afghan governor of Kashmir, Nawab Abdullah Khan, rebelled against the Durrani Amir, Timur Shah, and became independent. On the Nawab's request a Kishtwar contingent was sent to Kashmir under the commander, Dalipu. Timur's forces were defeated and valuable presents were given to the Kishtwar force by the Nawab after conclusion of hostilities. This took place probably in 1790-91 and on this occasion Tegh Singh also visited Kashmir. For some time he professed allegiance to the Afghan ruler of Kashmir. With the aid of a Kashmiri force under the Afghan commander, Khuda Dost, Tegh Singh's trusted general, Lakhpat Rai of the Thakkur caste, invaded Bhadarwah which was then ruled by a local Raja under the suzerainty of Chamba. A Chamba force under Wazir Nathu met the invaders, but was

85. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

86. *Ibid*, p. 44.

87. *H.P.H.S.*, p. 660.

defeated at Basnota and Gallugarh, and Bhadarwah was conquered and burnt. Wazir Nathu surrendered and a sum of Rs. 20,000 was exacted and the Kishtwar army then retired. On the receipt of the news of victory there were great rejoicings in Kishtwar and Lakhpat was received with every honour, and a *jagir* was bestowed upon him in Bhonjwah,⁸⁸ which was till recently in the possession of his descendants.

Kishtwar however, did not persist in her allegiance to the Afghan ruler of Kashmir, Tegh Singh seems to have renounced allegiance to Kashmir about 1800 A.D. In a letter still extant, dated 12th Jeth, S. 77⁸⁸ 24th May, 1801), the Raja had renewed his allegiance to Chamba. It was perhaps on account of this that an Afghan army from Kashmir invaded Kishtwar, defeated the Kishtwaris and plundered some of the villages. But the fury was over and the State seems to have existed almost independent till 1815 A.D. It seems that after 1803, the suzerainty of Chamba over Kishtwar had also lost hold. Tegh Singh continued to hold unimpaired all the territories acquired by the former rulers, including Dang, Saraj, Marwa and Banihal⁹⁰ from the eastern frontiers of Kashmir to the borders of Padar and Bhadarwah. Mr. Forster, who travelled from Jammu to Kashmir in 1783, states that his route passed through Kishtwar territory after crossing the Chenab.⁹¹ In view of the unsettled conditions prevailing both on the plains and the hills at that time, we may well believe that Kishtwar, sheltered by its rugged mountains, was practically independent of any foreign power; and, till close upon the time of its extinction, there was nothing to indicate that the end of this ancient principality was so near. It was the last of the Panjab Hill States to come under the control of Ranjit Singh and among the first to suffer at his hands.⁹²

He seems to have given his people a somewhat orderly administration. For that purpose he had appointed two Wazirs, one Hindu and the other a Muslim, viz., Lakhpat Rai of Padhiar tribe of the Thakkurs, and Wazir Khwaja Bhunjah son of Wazir Gulab. They were given handsome jagirs and cash grants. Wazir Bali Ram was also one of the important officers. The officers incharge of Kotwali was one Dhanashan. Meta Amaru held the charge of all

88. The name of the village given in *jagir* was maujah Dol; Cf. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, P 45.

89. *Cat. of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba*, p. 72, C. 50.

90. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

91. Forster, G. : *Travels*, p. 345.

92. *H.P.H.S.*, pp. 660-661.

civil and military affairs and was assigned rupee one from all *Zamindars* of Saraj *pargana*. There were also the offices of the paymaster (*Bakshi*) of the army and the scribe which were held by the *Pandits Bakhshi* Nanda Ram and *Bakhshi* Cheta Ram. Premu Shan managed the *Modikhana* department. Another two efficient officers, probably of army, were Ramu Padhiar and Uttam Padhiar. The latter afterwards accompanied Wazir Zorawar Singh on the conquest of Tibet and finds mention among the prisoners of war who were got repatriated by Maharaja Gulab Singh. Among the Muslim nobles, one was Maulvi Hafizullah who remained at Srinagar as *Vakil* of the Raja of Kishtwar; the other was Bahauddin who got appointment as *Kazi* of the State and received a village in *jagir* and a rupee per house of *Zamindars*. He conducted *Nikahs* (marriages) of Muslims of Saraj. Another person, named *Kazi* Azizullah, was one of the influential '*masahibs*' (councillors) of the Raja⁹³. The land tax was levied in cash at the rate of Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 each house of *Zamindars*. *Abwabs* were collected at the rate ranging from eight annas to a rupee per house. A standing army of 800 men was maintained by the Raja on cash payment. In the time of emergency each family had to contribute one to two men for active service and to arrange for their own weapons.⁹⁴

Tegh Singh ruled efficiently for about thirty four years till he was captured and deposed by Gulab Singh in 1820 as the Raja had provoked the wrath of Maharaja Ranjit by giving shelter to Shah Shujaul Mulk of Kabul. In 1811, Shah Shuja, having been driven out of his kingdom had taken refuge at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,⁹⁵ who though entertained him royally at first, but later robbed the refugee Shah of the *Koh-i-noor* and other valuables. Disgusted with such ill-treatment and threat to his life the Shah, in April 1815, effected his escape from the Lahore fort at night by crawling through a drain,⁹⁶ and crossing the river Ravi by boats kept ready by his loyal servants, travelled in disguise as a merchant through Sialkot, Jammu and Rajawar and finally reached Kishtwar on the invitation of Raja Tegh Singh.⁹⁷ The Raja accorded the Shah and his companion a royal welcome and made proper arrangements for their stay.

After some months the Shah thought of the conquest of Kashmir. He sent his messengers to bring rupees one lakh and a

93. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-49.

94. *Ibid*, p. 49.

95. Latif, Sayyid Mohammad : *History of the Punjab*, p. 308, *et. seq.*

96. *Tuzuk-I-Shah Shuja*, (Persian), Aligarh University MS., fol. 61a.

97. *Ibid*, fol. 61b-62a.

half which he had deposited with *sahukars* of Shikarpur at Lahore. The wealth was though received readily from the *sahukar*, it being detected by Ranjt Singh's men, was, however, confiscated.⁹⁸ The Shah had therefore to depend on the resources of Raja Tegh Singh who helped the Shah with open heart. An army of about two thousand "Hindustani and Punjabi" men was employed. In addition there were some one thousand and a half "*mulki*" (Kabuli) servants of the Shah.⁹⁸ At the head of this army he crossed the Marbal Pass and advanced into the valley as far as Shahabad, after defeating two contingents of Muhammad Azim Khan, the Afghan Wazir of Kashmir. Muhammad Azim Khan personally came forward to give the Shah a decisive battle. Shah Shuja had reached a place only "three kohs distant from the camp of Muhammad Azim Khan, and each and every house of the city of Kashmir (Srinagar) was clearly visible."⁹⁹ But the Shah was finally defeated on account of vagaries of "snow and storm" and superior numbers of the army, and was compelled to retreat to Kishtwar. This event disclosed his whereabouts to Ranjit Singh and an order was sent to Tegh Singh to deliver him up. This Tegh Singh declined to do, and, it being now unsafe to remain longer in Kishtwar, Shah Shuja escaped up the Maru-Wardwan Valley, crossed the high range into the Suru and, travelling through Zanskar, recrossed into Kulu, and in September, 1816 reached Ludhiana,¹⁰⁰ then the frontier station in British territory, where he was given political refuge.

It is said that Ranjit Singh entertained great resentment against Tegh Singh for not complying with his order.¹⁰¹ He was then himself making attempts on Kashmir and would not allow any one else to do so, and soon afterwards commanded Gulab Singh of Jammu to conquer Kishtwar, who, on receiving the Maharaja's orders sent a false message of warning to Tegh Singh, informing him that Ranjit Singh was about to invade the state. Tegh Singh made preparations for resistance and wrote to Gulab Singh that he had done so. On this Gulab Singh had a forged letter prepared, containing an invitation to Ranjit Singh from the Wazir Lakhpat Rai, and the chief men in the state, to invade Kishtwar.¹⁰² This he sent to Tegh Singh, and asked him how he could talk of resistance when his own officials were unfaithful to him. It is said that Tegh Singh

98. *Ibid*, fol. 64b-65a- *Ibid*, fol. 65b,

99. *Ibid*, fol. 66a.

100. *H.P.H.S. op. cit.*, p. 662.

101. Drew, F. : *op. cit.*, p. 121.

102. Vigne, G.T. : *Travels*, Vol I, pp. 181-82.

had a *hakim* named Jameel Shah who taught him to indulge in noxious drugs which made him suspicious.¹⁰³ Believing in the genuineness of the letter he determined to assassinate the Wazir, and on his appearance in Darbar next morning he was set upon by two soldiers and severely wounded.

The Raja then to screen himself disowned the deed and had the two soldiers put to death. The Wazir, however, was not deceived, and on his recovery asked leave to go to his *jagir* in Bhonjwah for change of air, and then escaped to Bhadrawah and went to Chamba and thence to Jammu. There he entered the service of Gulab Singh and pointed out to him how easily Kishtwar could be occupied.

Tegh Singh also wrote to Gulab Singh, and in reply he was advised to leave his army and come to Jammu alone, under a promise of an introduction to the Maharaja, who would secure him in possession of his dominions. Tegh Singh was completely deceived and in 1820 went to Doda, where he was met by Gulab Singh, who had him seized and sent to Jammu, where he was detained a prisoner. Meantime, Gulab Singh took possession of the state without any resistance.¹⁰⁴ On being liberated Tegh Singh went to Lahore to appeal to Ranjit Singh. He appeared in Darbar during the Holi, and the Sikh Sirdars pretended to intercede for him. Ranjit Singh promised to reinstate him, but the promise was never fulfilled, and he died in 1823, of poison administered by his own servant.

Tegh Singh had three sons, named Jaimal Singh, Zorawar Singh and Dilawar Singh. The two elder sons were with him at the time of his death, and Mr. Vigne says that *Zorawar Singh joined Shah Shuja's unsuccessful expedition against Afghanistan in 1834*. He is said to have afterwards visited Kishtwar in disguise, but was recognised and imprisoned in Jammu Fort. On his release he became a Christian and was baptized in Ludhiana, after which he wandered about for many years as a *faqir*, dying childless in 1870. His elder brother, Jaimal Singh, also died without issue, and the pension assigned to the family was then made over to Dilawar Singh, whose descendants resided in Tilokpur, near Kotla in the Kangra District. As already mentioned, collateral branches lived in Chamba and Jammu.¹⁰⁵

Wazir Lakhpat held high military office under Gulab Singh,

103. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

104. H.P.H.S. p. 663. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, however, records a local tradition that the Kishtwari gave Gulab Sing a battle before submitting to him.

105. Sheoji Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

and was sent to take charge of Kashmir from Sheikh Imamuddin when the valley was made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846. Lakhpat was killed at Munshi Bagh near Srinagar when he was taken by surprise by the army of the Sheikh. His descendants still reside at Bhonjwa and Bhadarwah and were till recently in enjoyment of jagirs and the family has provided many able servants to the Jammu and Kashmir State.

Kishtwar's possession by Gulab Singh proved useful in another way also. On its conquest he appointed Mian Chain Singh the *kardar* of that place. The people of Deng Bathal in the Saraj *pargana* revolted against the *kardar*, and Zorawar Singh Kahluria had to be sent to suppress the revolt. He performed the task so well that he was appointed the *kardar* of the *talluqas* of Saraj and Udel, and Mian Chain Singh was replaced by Mehta Basti Ram.¹⁰⁶ Thus it so happened that two great soldiers came together who had later to play their part in the conquests of Ladakh and Western Tibet. Basti Ram, however, did not prove a good administrator and in order to redress the grievances of the people of the *talluqas* under his control, whole of Kishtwar was transferred to the care of Zorawar Singh Kahluria. Afterwards, Marewa was also entrusted to Zorawar Singh with the consent of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and the former deputed Uttam Padhiar, another soldier who played important role in the conquest of Himalayan and trans-Himalayan territories, for its management.

Zorawar Singh was a man of great natural ability, a brave soldier and eager to advance the interests of his master. Soon after taking over the administration of Kishtwar he started conceiving the grand designs of conquering the adjoining Himalayan territories. Kishtwar therefore served as a spring-board for further conquests. It was in Kishtwar that he gave training to his soldiers for high altitude warfare. It was through Kishtwar that he conquered the Suru Valley in 1834 and finally captured Leh and Skardu and annexed Ladakh and Baltistan to Gulab Singh's principality. And finally, it was with the help of soldiers from Kishtwar and Ladakh that he conquered Naris, the highest cold and snow-bound plateau of the world, in 1841, though he had soon to lose not only his conquests but also his own life and whole of his military force which was totally annihilated in the Tibetan snows. Thus Kishtwar was an important acquisition of Gulab Singh which was conferred on him as a part of Jammu *jagir* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1820. Later, after creation of Jammu and Kashmir State in 1846, it was annexed to it and was built up

into a separate district and then a tehsil of the Udhampur District. When recently Doda was built up into a separate district, Kishtwar was included in it as one of its tehsils which administrative status it holds to this day.

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